2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The Indians manufacture and consume *chicha*, an alcoholic beverage fermented from sugar cane or maize. They drink larger quantities of rum prepared in Ladino-owned distilleries. *Pilico*, a combination of lime and tobacco, is chewed frequently, especially in Oxchuc, Tenejapa, and Cancuc.

Tenejapa is the only Tzeltal town that enjoys importance as a market center. Here a market is held every Sunday.

Pottery is made for sale outside the local community in Amatenango and in Tenango. In almost all the other communities the industry is practised in a rudimentary form merely to supply local needs. Blom and LaFarge observed and reported the techniques of pottery manufacture at Sivacá;[19] Villa limits his data to mentioning the industry there. Blom and LaFarge report, on hearsay, the method of making large, egg-shaped, three-handled water jars at Tenango; Villa observed and reported this industry. The former authors report that the clay used is "a light greenish brown colour."[20] Villa says that two kinds of clay, "white earth" and "red earth," are combined to form the paste. Villa also noted the tempering with a ground sandy limestone (*hi*); and the painting with a paint made from a soft stone from the river (*huxu-tzaik*). The pots and griddles are made from one kind of clay tempered with a different sandstone called *bax*. The method of firing described for Sivacá by Blom and LaFarge from hearsay, involving the preparation of "an A-roof, forming a long tunnel,"[21] was observed and photographed by Villa in Tenango. Villa was told that vessels after firing are filled with *pozole* in water to reduce the porosity.

In Tenejapa metates are made for export, and in Oxchuc halters, lead-ropes, nets, and bags. The methods of weaving, net making and basketry, reported by Blom and LaFarge for Bachajón[22] were not reported by Villa.

The type of habitation is the same throughout the whole region, although there are small variations from village to village. The houses are rectangular in form with four-sided roofs, thatched with grass, and with sides made of poles and clay. Only the houses of Chanal form an exception. The walls of these structures are in most cases of wood. The houses of Tenango present another exception in that they are the only ones where the roofs do not terminate in a ridge, but in a point; it is usual to cover this with an inverted pot. Houses are throughout divided into two rooms, one of which serves as living room and kitchen and the other as sleeping room. In some cases the kitchen is placed in the latter section. There is a single door in front; only in certain settlements to the north, as Chilón and Yajalón, where the influence of the white man has been greater, are houses to be seen with two doors and even some with small windows. The floor is always of packed earth.

The furnishings of the living room are limited in general to beds, improvised of boards placed on the ground or on logs, and covered with mats. The hammock is little used; it is generally reserved for children. The furnishings and domestic

[19] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:342–345.
[20] *Ibid.*, 2:383
[21] *Ibid.*, 2:344.
[22] *Ibid.*, 2:345–349.

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[p. 457-A] Teklum

682 156 themselves killed." When they see a man who is abusive while drunk, who brags of his power and of that of his animal spirit, they will remark: "That man is going to wake up dead" (*sakubk'inal čamel*). When such a man is killed, no one complains, even among his immediate relatives (cases 5, 10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, and 32 are of this type). When I asked [562] why women do not get killed, the response was, "They don't look for trouble" (*ma sleik smul*).

682 *Setting*

	Total	*Dawn*	*Afternoon*	*Evening*	*Night*	??
Streets of town	11				11	
Milpa, woods, road out of town	10	2	3	2	2	1
Highway	4		1	1	1	1
In cantina	3		1		2	
In houseyard	3			1	2	
In bed	1				1	
Neighboring hamlets & towns	2		1			1
??	3					3
Total	37	2	6	4	19	6

Where the killing takes place and its timing in the diurnal cycle are directly linked. All of the homicides in the streets of the town were committed at night, while those in the roads out of town near the milpa occurred in the late afternoon or evening. In providing privacy and security from discovery, the darkness of night is functionally equivalent to distance from the 682 114 town center during the daytime. When I suggested that the killings might be reduced if the town would connect the lights that had been installed in the streets, the response was that when they had been in use, killings had increased. The lights helped the killer find his victim, perhaps lying out in the road after a drinking session. He would shoot out the light and then kill his victim.

682 579 The only killings in which considerations of space or time were ignored were those in the cantina during a drunken brawl, for in contrast to the usual killing their onset was unpremeditated.

682 [527] [579] The timing of homicide is related also to the annual cycle: 14 homicides occurred during the fiestas in the town or in a neighboring town. The drunkenness of the fiestas provides an appropriate occasion for killing an enemy, although a drunken brawl is in itself rarely a [755] sufficient motive (two cases). Other opportune times are after a curing ceremony (six cases) [273] and after the gathering of curers during an

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P.457-B] Teklum

682 epidemic (two cases), when people have drunk
[755] a great deal and their motive is fresh in their
[273] mind.

The settings in which homicides occur indicate that a killer is expressing not his own
682 bravery but rather his fears. Wounds are fre-
152 quently inflicted from the rear, and often the
154 victim is outnumbered and set upon by a
[273] group. The victim is sometimes invited to drink with his killer(s), and in this session he is disarmed psychologically and physically. Alcohol reduces the chance of his effective reaction, and this is important when a knife or machete is used. Shotgun killings are done at a distance and do not require this tactic, although it may still be employed. For drinking
682 serves to reduce the killer's own fears. Drink
273 "heats the blood" and makes unusual be-
152 havior possible. One killer, in recounting his act, was not trying to prove bravery, but rather his own good judgment and cool-headedness. The killer fired at the victim while he was sleeping, his back turned to the door, and killed him. The shot also entered the arm of the
[695] sleeping man's wife. She saw the killer as he
[683] left the scene, but testified in court that she had seen no one. She was, in effect, accepting his verdict that her husband was a witch.[4] This homicide was not regarded by the killer or by anyone else as a heroic act, nor was the killer in recounting it attempting to emphasize anything other than the necessity of the act.

682 411 *Instrumentality: Weapons and Wounds*

gun	14
machete	6
gun and machete	4
knife	3
knife and gun	1
knife and machete	1
knife and stone	1
hatchet	1
nail	1
sandals	1
??	4

The variety of weapons reduces the question of any technological determinism to a minimum. The actual weapon used seems to be a matter of convenience. When more than one is used, it is usually evidence that the assailant had helpers. The nail is unusual. It was hammered into the jaws of a man who had entered the curing profession at an age considered too
682 young. The attack on the jaws of the victim
774 seems related to the power of speech and to the
756 [text continues on p. 461-B]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P.464-A] Teklum

to who did it. The consultations with curers prior to the death of the supposed victims of a witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[3]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided who caused the sickness. Emotions run very high as the liquor is passed around, and accusations are made, sometimes against those present. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

In the weeks following a homicide, it is discussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a man judged to have been a witch, so far as I know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

Rules for Surviving

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can ensure survival. The long-range rules of survival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kuk'o ta kventa me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

kun ku kikta'in kalnitan
I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kuk' ta kventa
To all I give respect.

ha? kil lakotik. Ma taltik milel me taltik tomal

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682 539 783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

682 156 828 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo?tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben teyel yo?tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma ?awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me yo wul*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608] [756] [273]

682 [578] These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

682 626

II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

682 178 121 626 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
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[P 467-B] Teklum

178 the cave and that they are in communication
756 with him. But these claims are met with ex-
769 pressions of disbelief by the people. Almost everyone is convinced not only that the curers do not now talk with the ancestors, but that the ancestors no longer look over them from the watchout hill outside their cave.

756 The loss of control by the curers is drama-
178 tized in the long passage quoted above con-
731 trasting the past and present treatment of epidemics. Formerly the two leaders of the curers consulted together and announced to the president that they had rid the town of evil. Now the curers as a group are ordered to come before the civil authority. There, in a [273] long examination called *?it yo?tan*—"taking the heart"—in which 18 liters of liquor are consumed, the assembled curers and civil authorities decide who among them is responsible for bringing in the witchcraft that is causing the epidemic. Later in the evening, [682] one of the curers is usually killed (cases 11 and 29, Table 1).

756 (2) *Conflict between the curers and the civil*
578 *authority*. The competition between the curers and the civil authority can be traced in a series of incidents beginning in the '30's and culminating in an open confrontation in the spring of 1966.

756 The first incident occurred in 1932, when
578 the town was still part of the neighboring
682 Ladino township:

683 F went and asked permission of the authorities to
[632] kill his enemy, a curer, who he thought was bewitching his brother-in-law. The president went to the house of the suspected witch with the order to imprison him. He said they were going to take him to the neighboring township center to put him in jail. The group of authorities set off with the suspected witch. On the way, another group met them and asked them where they were going. The president replied, "To H." The group that had encountered them asked if they would like a drink to heat their body. They gave one cup, and then another. Then they cut up the suspected witch with a machete and put his body in the cave of the ancestors. When the widow enquired the next day where her husband was, the president said that the man must have gone to the finca.

The ambush by the killers was prearranged in the town court, and the president covered their deed when questions were asked.

[622] In 1940, the leading curer of the lower section was president. When he killed a man who

283 413 the ground. This disc has two hooks to which the fiber is knotted; when the disc is turned by a crank, it braids the fibers into rope. A thick board, smoothed by a metal knife (manufactured by the Indians from iron pieces bought in the city), is used to scrape the pita and remove the fiber.

407 [177] The most complex machine that the Tzeltal own and build is the wooden cane press, which was imported by the Spaniards to grind sugarcane (fig. 6). This machine is operated by two men, who move the rollers by a handle (*kabal-té*) at each end of the [415] machine. The juice pressed out by the rollers drops into fluted containers made of pieces of banana tree, and finally into a pot. This • 273 juice is used in the preparation of an alcoholic beverage, *chicha* (*chi-ja*, 'sweet water'), and for panela. Chicha is prepared by [415] fermenting this juice by bran, corn, or wheat, in a special container (*canoja*) made from a fluted tree trunk. The bran or other fermenting agent is *smé-chi-já* ('mother of [184] the chicha'). Some communities (Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc) have greater preference for this beverage than other Tzeltal groups.

224 411 [412] A gun has become very common in hunting. Sometimes (Oxchuc and Tenejapa) rabbits are taken by striking them with a coa, after cornering them with the aid of dogs. Blom and LaFarge (1926–27, 2:352) state that the Tzeltal of the lowlands usually hunt wild boar with long wooden spears with fire-hardened or metal points. Traps protect the milpa as well as snaring game.

41 Cooking utensils are mainly indigenous. The usual set consists of clay containers of varying size and shape, jícaras, baskets, wooden spoons, a comal, a metate, hooks, and wooden tripods for hanging items over 177 404 416 the fire. In the last few years metal pots, dishes, frying pans, boiling pans, and especially handy *nixtamal* mills (which are gradually displacing the grinding stone) 177 207 405 412 416 have been introduced. Other items that come from the city are flashlights, small kerosene lamps, watches, scissors, and (infrequently) battery radios.

[P 206-B]

583 procedures (*trámites*) of church and civil
584 registry. The traditional marriage is an arrangement between two families. The young man's parents, with his agreement, select the bride and start the visits leading to the [574] petition. The visits to the girl's house must [203] be made at dawn, accompanied by two or three bottles of aguardiente. These visits continue for several months, because the girl's parents want to consult the old men or the most important members of the patrilineal clan.

585 The wedding itself is simple, a family ritual concerning the boy's parents, the girl's parents, and old men of the clan she belongs to. Now the boy appears for the first time, bringing articles that will "warm up" the fiesta (Villa Rojas, 1949):

1 garrafón (about 18 liters) of aguardiente
80 cooked eggs
80 tortillas
80 tamales of the *chenkul-uaj type* (corn and bean dough)
10 kilos of pozole with chile
10 kilos of pozole without chile
1 kilo of ground chile
1 almud (4 kilos) of beans

According to my informants from Oxchuc, these items represent what the girl's parents have spent for her during childhood. [574] This marriage feast is called *beybal-ja* ('the first delivery of aguardiente').

585 614 These items are presented with the greatest formality to the girl's clan in oral forms that symbolize the wish for everlasting friendship between both families. The oldest member of the girl's clan responds by expressing on behalf of all members their satisfaction in receiving those articles and their good wishes for a successful union. Immediately, the couple kneels on a petate and listens to the oldest member of the clan, who formally announces they are married and recites the duties and obligations of each.

584 184 Until recently in Cancuc the custom obtained of making these marriage arrange-

[P 217-B]

584 [184] ments through a special person (*chunel*) for each of the four clans, and differed from Oxchuc, where the case is presented to the nearest old man of the clan. In Cancuc, according to Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 3):

> The boy's parents dealt with the *Chunel* of the girl's clan when petitioning her. He received the gifts and gave approval; and then accompanied by the boy and his parents he went into the house of the girl's parents. There, he presented the boy's petition. Nobody could oppose the Chunel's decisions. The girl would die if she didn't obey the decisions of the elder of the clan.

583 Once a marriage feast is finished, the boy stays in his parents-in-law's house to fulfill the bride price (*stojyinam*). This service, which consists in helping the father-in-law in the milpa and in other duties, usually lasts a year, or less if arrangements are made in advance. Frequently during this period the man spends alternate periods of three weeks with his parents-in-law and with his own parents. When he has the means to do it, he builds his own house and starts the new cycle of a nuclear family.

581 585 574 [273] [614] After the first year of marriage, if the couple get along together, the man must make a present of two garrafones of aguardiente and the same petitionary items of food, though in larger amounts. This time, more of the girl's clan are present, and so increase the importance of the event. The purpose is to celebrate the success of the couple and the union that will exist between the two families. This big *tertulia*, along with the corresponding meal, is called [888] [273] *mukel-ja* ('abundance of drink'). Old men of the clan who cannot attend receive at their homes the portion of aguardiente they 586 should have drunk. On the other hand, if the couple could not get along during the first year and the union is annulled because of the woman's fault, her parents must give back all they have received during the first ritual.

581 574 Finally, to bring all these duties to an

[P. 218-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

137 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travellers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is
[653] supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate
[273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday
[123] all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bitterly that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance, in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are concerned with the *nagual* or the soul.

The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual, tcul-el* (*tcul,* "holy," *-el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual,* the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual,* hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the *nagual* was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused to see his *nagual* . . . *"se abrazan cariñosamente con su nagual, que por arte diabólica se le apparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."*† According to Sapper (1925) exactly the same practices obtain in Guatemala today, the animal being caused to appear by means of hypnotism.

It is possible that further investigation would show a similar manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How-

*Nuñez de la Vega. 1702. loc. cit.
†Extract in Paniagua. 1908. Page 97.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly characteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and occasional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan*, is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known: however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci'*, shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc*. This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. Cit.
†Cf. Sapper, 1923.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk.

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober.

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance.

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value.

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci.

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

FIG. 323.—Cancuc, Chis. Men on the Cabildo porch.

These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, and come out. Looking in the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In this connection they have a very curious custom. There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Cancuc

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hütc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was interested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis. Drinking scaffold.

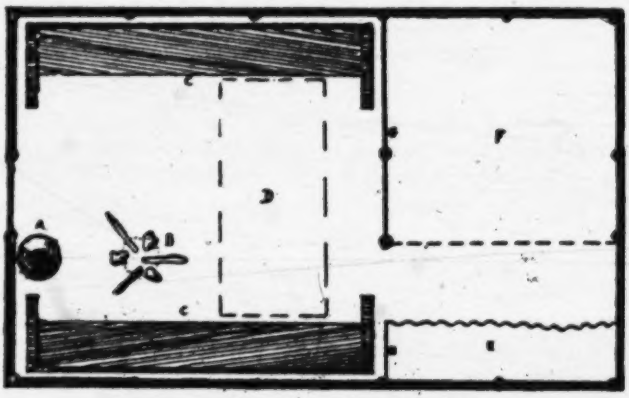

FIG. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

6: Metzger

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Aguacatenango

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[For detailed information on various aspects of drinking performance in Aguacatenango, see category 116, pp. 1-4, 10, 44-47, 49-99, 102-113, and 125-183.]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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It is considered much safer to drink in a bar on one's own side, but those men who pride themselves on being widely respected brag that they can drink on either side without becoming involved in a fight. When people must pass to the other side of town, they prefer walking on the Pan-American Highway, a socially neutral network, to passing through the streets of the opposite division, where their presence arouses curiosity and comments, such as "He must be looking for a lover!"

The colonias. The six colonias (Table 1) are populations of Indians who have moved from the center to take advantage of the lands granted under the ejido program of 1937 and "foreign Indians" who were formerly workers on the expropriated plantations. The Indians distinguish the close-lying settlements, or *barrios,* of Yetawitz, Pathuitz, B'očib'al, and Te?tikil from the remaining colonias listed in the census (Table 1). The populations of the barrios are more closely identified with the center since they are closer to it and there is a higher proportion of migrants from the parent group. They are linked to the side of the dual division to which they are most closely situated. Marriages can be contracted between members of the two settlements, and house lots can be acquired by residents of the town in the barrio with which they are associated. An exception was made to the association on the basis of proximity in the case of Te?tikil, which lies nearer to Alannantik but was linked with Ahk'olnantik in order to balance the population ratios at the time of its settlement. Police are appointed from these colonias and serve in the local *cabildo,* or town hall, along with other police from the center. The colonias of San Vicente and San Caralampio are farther away, and the rural judge and police appointed to these populations appear only once a week and during ceremonies in the local cabildo. The foreign Indians of San Vicente, who migrated from Chanal, and of Yetawitz, who came from Huistán to work in the finca of San Nicolás before acquiring ejido lands, are discriminated against in the local political organization. Their representatives never reach the high positions of president and first or second judge.

Ranchos and rancherías. The populations of these small settlements have only the most formal kind of social, economic, and political

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial (*young male assistants*). *He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:*

[782]
[839]

May no witchcraft enter.
May all the children be cared for.
I can see and hear who enters.
Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served.

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Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

the animal. The curer received from him the severed head and paws which he placed in a large gourd. Then the curer served a potion of herbs in springwater to all of the members of the household. The final ritual act was for the curer to smoke an article of clothing belonging to each member of the household over the incense burning in front of the center arch at the back wall. Liquor was served continaully throughout the ceremony, the first drink always being given to the curer followed by one to the elder houseowner. The first drink was served immediately after the cutting of the jugular vein of the sheep. Flowing blood, water, and liquor are spirit media symbolically linked in ritual behavior. Between each of the major ritual acts—the slaughtering of the sheep, the burial of the head, the serving of the springwater and herbs, and the smoking of the clothing with incense—the curer prayed, but his prayers were so mumbled that I could not hear or record them. Informants said that it was a variation of the prayer given at the first house fiesta. After the rituals, a stew made with the sheep meat was served with tortillas to all the visitors. The music of guitar and gourd rattle, played during the ritual by young male relatives continued after the meal, and the guests remained in the house drinking and dancing for the rest of the afternoon.

Elements of these house fiestas are repeated when any of the children of the household is ill. A severe illness, diagnosed as being caused by the devil eating the soul of the patient, requires offering a meal to the house spirit. The square hole is reopened, and a live black chicken, male if the patient is a boy and female if it is a girl, is placed inside. A food offering of one-fourth liter of liquor, one peso's worth of bread, and 50 cents' worth of chocolate is placed inside with the chicken, and a square board is fitted on top of the hole "to keep the chicken alive for eight days so that the house spirit will hear his cries." When the curing arch is removed, the hole is filled in with dirt over the chicken, now dead, which provides a meal for the spirit house earth.

When the houseowner is sick, an appeal for health is made to the spirit in the house post. The members of the household kiss the post, a splinter is removed and burned in an incense burner with *pom*, the resin of pine. This odor is pleasing to the house spirit.

When a serious illness caused by witchcraft has been cured, the patient

pesos for agricultural work for other families in the village. The expenditures of this family on meat, brown sugar, and liquor were required for the house celebrations carried out almost every Sunday. Like family No. 1 they spent 83 percent of their budget on food, a total of 714.80 pesos, and a larger percentage on clothing, 138 pesos. They sold their surplus corn for 292 pesos and their beans for 247 pesos. These crops were produced on one hectare of privately owned, irrigated land, one hectare of privately owned, non-irrigated land and one hectare of ejido land.

Family No. 3 consists of a widow and her widowed daughter-in-law who had five children. The oldest son, aged sixteen, worked their one-half hectare of ejido land and one-half hectare of irrigated land with some hired help during harvest. During the three weeks recorded, there were no returns from their crops, which include wheat and corn, and the family relied entirely on returns from pottery. This household produces more pottery than any of the others recorded, earning 61 pesos in the three weeks, because there are no adult male producers. They spent 63 percent of their budget on food, a total of 42 pesos, and 34 percent or 23 pesos on clothing.

Family No. 4 consists of a married couple with three children seven years of age and under. The husband works occasionally in the sawmill, but since he drinks a great deal, he does not contribute much of his 70-peso weekly wage to the family. He grows wheat on one-half hectare of irrigated land and corn on one-half hectare of ejido land. In the ten days recorded, no money was gained on harvest, but the woman earned 19 pesos from pottery. The family spent 77 percent, or 17.20 pesos of their budget on food and another 22 percent, or 5 pesos such as soap, kerosene, etc.

Family No. 5 consists of a married couple, their married son and daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren. They own one and one-half hectare of irrigated land, on which they grow wheat and corn, and one-half hectare of ejido land. The husband and his son supplement their earning from farming by distilling liquor, earning 108 pesos in the ten days recorded. In addition, the women of the household earned 54 pesos from pottery they made. They spent 143 pesos, or 97 percent of their budget on food and 3 pesos, or 2 percent of their budget, on clothing.

Family No. 6 consists of a young couple with two children. The husband owns one-half hectare of irrigated land, and one-half hectare of non-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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The truck is the focus of the desire for self-improvement, for fighting the Ladino monopoly of the road, for the antagonisms and factional strife and conflict within the community. When they bought the truck, the Indians hired a Ladino in the neighboring town as chauffeur. One of the conditions of his employment was that he would teach his Indian assistant to drive. The Ladino tried to avoid doing this since he knew it would be the end of his job. But the Indian assistant learned by observation and is now operating the truck with an Indian assistant.

Accounts of the cost and profit of the truck operation indicated a running loss. A new tarpaulin cost 1,200 pesos; there were repairs and bribes to the highway patrol. But the truck was kept in operation because the major shareholders were impressed with the power it gave them. "They [their enemies, the members of the other co-operative owned by the Ladino along with twenty members of the community] are afraid of us because of the truck," one said, and added that it was better than having a *swayohel,* the animal spirit that gives power to the curers. At the time of my last visit in 1967 the truck was making a profit. The owners were thinking of selling it and replacing it with a five-ton model.

Structural realignment has been most marked in the organization of the truck-owning cooperatives. Membership cuts across the dual division for both of the truck-owning cooperatives. The cooperative is the most important factor in local political elections (Chapter 9). The truck has become both the symbol of power and the basis for the contest for power between the factions within the community.

Contraband liquor. The number of distillers has grown in the last ten years from five to forty. The distillation process was learned by Indians from Ladinos in neighboring towns fifteen years ago. There has been no local innovation in the basic process, but a new item, used in distillation, has been introduced into pottery production, a funnel decorated in the traditional manner of the water jars and other vessels. The capital investment in the equipment for operating the still is put up by individuals or partnerships of relatives. The still is rented to people who have charge of the celebration for a saint's day, or who are involved in courtship.

Private enterprise is the favored form of organization of the distillers be-

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cause of the limited capital involved and the fear of discovery with the expansion of the enterprise. A loose syndicate of distillers provides an insurance protection by raising fines for members who are apprehended by federal agents. Security measures are taken to avoid discovery, and the presence of a federal agent is announced in Tzeltal on the loudspeaker system of one of the bars. One federal agent is on the payroll of the four operating bar owners, who give him 5 pesos a week to avoid legal action on the sale of contraband liquor. Individual distillers pay the tariff of 10 pesos or two liters of liquor a year to the civil officials and to the ejido commission, a tariff justified by the fact that they use wood from communally owned land to cook the sugar. The syndicate is a community-wide organization, mobilized in emergencies only.

The New Social Resources

In the course of operating the new enterprises, knowledge of and experience with supralocal institutions and agents are developing social resources in (1) entrepreneurship, (2) management of capital and credit, (3) knowledge of markets, and (4) dealing with government agencies. In entering into these new economic activities, the Indians have not lost a sense of belonging to the local community. Self-identification as poor, indigenous farmers is both a screen of protection and a means of ensuring continuity with local control systems.

Entrepreneurship. Local entrepreneurs explain their motivation in a rhetoric which emphasizes their interest in community welfare. This validates entering into nontraditional activities, but retaining their position in local society inhibits the expansions of their activities. The case of Santos, the promoter of the trucking cooperative is instructive. Santos had picked up some accounting techniques while he served in the army in Michoacán. He returned to the village because his father walked from Chiapas to Michoacán to tell him he should come back and get married. When he returned, he kept careful account of his costs and returns from the milpa. He realized soon that it wasn't "worth his work" (the Indian has not as yet learned the idiom or the value system which goes into the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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178 coming from the smaller towns to buy. The Indians still bring pottery to
442 sell retail in towns that they visit during a fiesta. One of these is the barrio
443 of Lok'ibal in the municipio of Villa Carranza, where people go on the third Friday of Lent to get holy water from the spring.

The Indians have not taken advantage of the truck to buy pottery wholesale and market it directly in the smaller towns, selling from the truck in the plaza as some of the wholesale fruit truckers do. Another operation which they have failed to profit from is buying the wheat harvest and selling to government warehouses, as some of the Ladino truckers do.

44
471 Lack of capital is the major reason for failure to exploit these opportunities. In marketing the contraband liquor, which is the most flourishing of
273 the new enterprises, the Indians have not yet entered into the external
443 markets except in the case of one young unmarried mother. Wholesale
434 purchases are made by Ladinos, primarily women, from other towns who resell the liquor in Comitán and on the coast. There is however, a well-de-
[675] veloped home market since all contracts are sealed with the offering of liq-
[681] uor, the "gift of the gods," all court fines are paid in liquor, and the main
[583] gift in betrothal is liquor. The cantinas with phonograph players opened
[275] by the cooperatives operate very successfully on Saturday night and during
[216] fiestas. The internal market for liquor is controlled by a syndicate of the
[548] forty-two independent liquor distillers. The price is set at 4 pesos per liter
[435] for all buyers, with the buyer providing the bottle.

Agricultural production is not geared to a market, and Indians do not
241 take advantage of fluctuations in price. Wheat yields a lower return per
442 unit of land than corn, but it is grown for two reasons: the Indians believe
443 that crop rotation of corn and wheat prevents depletion of the soil, and wheat requires less work since no cultivation is needed. Wheat is a cash crop and none of it is milled or consumed directly in town. Poor families sell their wheat "standing" to Teopisca truckers. The price given the
[435] grower is usually about 90 pesos per hundred kilograms, and it is resold at 110 or 120 pesos in Tuxtla or to the government storehouses. Wheat is sometimes brought directly to San Cristóbal millers who give 120 per hundred kilograms. Corn is primarily a subsistence crop when grown in the center. Corn grown in hot country ejido land is now sold in Teopisca and
[489] San Cristóbal. The local truck cooperative has a special permit which gives

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat?o?tan by the maliwanebetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

[293] [593] [603] [778]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo?ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

Betrothal and Marriage

796 179 The Indians of Tzo?ontahal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] [571] [608] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo?ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

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593 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to
578 his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the
608 proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man
571 to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her.
692 You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is
608 discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism,
571 compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to
578 see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual
182 support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking
[273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships
571 in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the commu-
608 nity. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recog-
578 nizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they
156 provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms.
608 They are a personal reference group maintaining customary ways of be-
571 having. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.
182 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors
608 behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense
571 of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

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give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol,* a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

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The funeral procession leaves for the cemetery about three in the afternoon. Attending the body are the padrinos, parents, aunts, and uncles. If the deceased is a child under two years of age, he is carried by his madrina. One of the former fiscales or someone who knows how to pray goes along. Smaller siblings or children of the dead are left at home with the maliwanehetik, who in this case are chosen from among the more distant relatives, compadres, and neighbors not attending the funeral. As they walk, the women cry and the "owner of the dead," the woman closest of kin, wails constantly in the stylized mourning cry. She stops wailing only when the company stops to pray at the cross at the exit of the town and just before entering the graveyard. At each resting point, the fiscal, who holds a rosary, reads the prayer book, while a neighbor or compadre uses a geranium to sprinkle holy water on the spot. An older male relative holds a palm cross.

When the party arrives at the opened grave, the godmother sits down near the coffin to make the final arrangements. The grave has been opened prior to the arrival of the party, but sometimes the men widen the hole. If they come across a bone, the fiscal shakes holy water over it with the geranium. When a nursing child is buried, the mother leans over the coffin and puts her breast in the child's mouth just before he is lowered into the grave. This is done so that the child's spirit will not think any longer of returning. The godparent or some other attendant dips the geranium in water and shakes it over the body. Handfuls of dirt are then thrown into the coffin. It is at this point that the assembled group, including the men, breaks into loud wails. The wails of the funeral party, though they do not lack feeling, are most important as a controlled communication, uttered when it is appropriate and by particular persons who are expected to cry before a select audience.

As the neighbors who have come to help the bereaved relatives shovel dirt on the grave, the padrino of the deceased approaches the fiscal and recites the patʾoʾtan of blessing for the gift of liquor. The liquor is measured in a shot glass and passed around to the company. The women leave soon, and the men remain drinking. At this point a kind of trial is held to see who is responsible for the death. Since almost all sickness is believed to be caused by witchcraft, it is important to decide who the guilty person

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they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatín*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

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uals. The resources expended in the process of curing counterbalance the patient's greater wealth which provoked the envy initially. The witch starts the sickness by going to one of the caves in the hills where he burns a candle, drinks a liter of liquor, and prays that the object of his envy fall ill. The essential element in the fight against the witch is the act of drinking by all those present at the curing. In consuming their own liquor, often paid for by the sale of cattle or crops, they mitigate the envy of the witch. If the witch persists, he must continue to spend money on the liquor necessary to initiate the witchcraft after each ceremonial cure. Part of the tactic of a rapid series of cures is to demonstrate willingness to use all of the family's resources if necessary to counteract the rituals of the witch. The statement that they drink "in order to finish with the money" takes on significance in this strategy of limiting envy by expending resources.

Medicating the illness. The cure of the disease comes in the bathing or heating of the patient and the application or ingestion of medicines, usually a combination of patent medicines purchased in the nearby Ladino town. The specific cures called for depend on the secondary classification of the disease: if it is a "cold disease," hot medicines are applied; if it is a "hot disease," cold medicines are used.

Two kinds of bathing are performed, one a kind of steam bath, called "rise over the fire," for cold illnesses, and another a cold bath for hot illnesses. Chills and fever require both treatments. In the first case, a large charcoal fire is made inside the main room of the patient's house. When the fire is strong, two thick green logs are placed on it to create smoke. The patient mounts on a stool over the fire, and a straw mat is held over him to capture the steam. When he is sweating a great deal, the curer gives him a drink of cold medicines.

The cold bath is given with thirteen branches from bushes which grown near the spring.[4] Patent medicines dissolved in Spring water include syrup of *isidro,* cloves, vapor rub, epsom salts, aspirin, and other cold herbs or juices such as lemon, grapefruit, *cintula,* and *tok'o.* If the trouble is chills and fever, hot herbs such as *inajo, lumahiya,* and apple may be added to restore the body's hot-cold balance. A bad curer may reverse the medicines,

4. These include plants called *tihiliha?, yoḵmut, tsitsil hi', Telwamal* and *yetalbulha?.*

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giving hot medicines for hot diseases. If this is discovered, he will be subject to accusations of witchcraft. The relatives of the patient are present as witnesses "to see what medicines are given."

In the case of infections, the curer cauterizes the wound, a process called "take out the odor." First he smells the wound, checking on the severity of the infection. He mixes chile and hot charcoal and puts them on the wound to "cause the evil to rise to the surface." He then sucks on the wound, and spits out a "worm" which indicates the kind of evil caused by witchcraft. He covers the wound with mentholated cream and binds it. The patient is kept covered.

Calling the soul. The major effort in soul-calling (tamohel) is concentrated on preparing the patient and the house for the return of his soul. This is done for illnesses caused by fear and resulting in soul-loss. Here a knowledge of the setting is crucial to understand each act. An arch of pine boughs is set at the center post because it is here that the souls of the inmates of the house cluster (over the square hole at the foot of the post where the sheep's head is buried during the inauguration of the house). Thirteen candles, including a large, 50-cent one in the center and twelve 20-cent ones, are set before the arch. If the patient is being cured in the house of the curer, which happens when he goes to another town for a cure, the arch is put near the door in order that his soul not mingle with the souls of the curer's household. The patient is laid out on a mat in front of the curing arch, or if he is a small child, he is held in the arms of his mother. The curing is scheduled so that the arrival of the soul occurs when it will not be seen by people passing in the street. This would cause it embarrassment, and it would not enter the house. The patient continues to sleep under the arch each night until it is removed nine days later. As he sleeps, his soul enters in a dream and is reunited with the body. A guitar and seed rattle are played continuously during the ceremony to make the spirits of guests, patient, and house "of one heart." Many rounds of liquor are served in order to "finish with our money" and thus reduce the envy of the one who caused the witchcraft.

The soul-calling is combined with a cold bath to cure the illness. The patient is disrobed, and the curer brushes him with branches of plants

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from the spring and a live black chicken which draws the heat from the patient, taking it into its own body. The branches are dipped in a mixture of raw cocoa, pieces of melon mixed in water, and other "cold" items. A new set of clothing, smoked over an incense burner in which pitch pine is burned, is put on the patient. A common meal of chicken or beef stew is served with tortillas to all the guests.

In the case of more persistent illnesses, the bathing may take place at the springs. Male patient go to the large spring of San Nicolás and female patients to Pahaltón. A curing arch is erected near the spring. The curer calls upon the spirit of the spring to perform a miracle. Some members of the family stay behind at the house so that if the spirit of the patient should return before he does, it will be welcomed. The people waiting in the house, called maliwanehetik, must drink as much liquor as do those at the spring.

Sometimes the soul of a child is called at the place where fear caused it to be lost. The cure is started at the house, and then part of the group goes to the place which the curer has designated as the location of the fright. Soil is gathered in a kerchief or item of the patient's clothing and is placed at the head of his bed. As the group returns to the house, one of the child's relatives plays the guitar at the gate, and the curer sweeps a path for the soul with branches he has taken from the spring. Inside the house, the soul is again called while the curer brushes the child with spring branches. The mother embraces the child as incense is smoked over him and all his clothing. The child is then pulsed to determine whether the soul has returned.

Medicating the house. The strategy of medicating the house is tied to an understanding of the interaction of the spirit of the house and those of the inmates. When the evil sent out by the witch enters the house, it first asks permission of the house posts to enter the soil of the house. The house is adorned with pine branches and flowers to make the house-soul happy. Old men make palm crosses for the center post and corner posts of the yard. One large 50-cent candle is lit at the center post with small 20-cent candles on each side. When these candles are lighted they "blind the eye of evil spirits who can see only in the dark." A black chicken is buried alive in the square hole where the offering of the sheep

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shortly before the fiesta of the saint's day with which he was charged. When the nomination was made, the president sent out the first policeman with the chief policeman to bring the man chosen to the town hall. They expected, and were always confronted with, resistance to the nomination. In order to gain acceptance they got the nominee drunk in a drinking session at the town hall. Liquor was measured out, and all the officials drank only a half cup at each round, but the new alférez was required to drink a full cup. The rounds continued until the new alférez was drunk. If he did not accept at this session, he was put in jail to think it over. Another drinking session took place the following day.

Nomination to the post of alférez was the only situation in which the jail penalty has been brought into effect, since refusal by nominees to other posts simply means that the officials "look for someone else." The reason given for invoking the punishment was "we know he has the wealth and therefore he should serve." Until 1965 the town had always succeeded in recruiting two of the alfereces from Ahk'olnantik and two from Alannantik. Since the upper division of Ahk'olnantik has grown at a more rapid rate than the lower division, candidates were found only in Ahk'olnantik. This unbalancing of the population ratios undermined the institution of alférez, which had always been the most unpopular position. When I returned to the field in 1967, it had been eliminated.

The Functions of Civil Officials

An analysis of the formally prescribed functions of the civil officials must take into account three sources of data: the functions as prescribed by state legislation, the functions as understood by local officials, and the observed activities of the officials. Table 26 compares the functions of officials as stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departmental de Chiapas, 1828: Decreto 52, Nov. 30, 1825) [3] to statements of informants and to my observations of the carrying out of their official obligations.

3. I have chosen this constitution as the first post-independence statement of the status of local civil administrators.

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Priorities in service and salutations validate the prestige of the incumbent. Rituals also provide the occasion for noting social change. Divergencies between expected and enacted sequences are a clue to shifts in authority and prestige. Conflict between competing interests often comes to the surface when structural features are made explicit in ritual performances. This is particularly true in these Indian villages where drinking liquor releases inhibitions. The inaugurations of officials in the civil and religious hierarchies are analyzed below to show how they reflect both continuity and change.

Inauguration of civil officials. Legal provision for the installation of the civil officials is minimally stated in the constitution of the state of Chiapas (Secretaría del Gobierno Departamental de Chiapas, 1841:4):

1. The judges and regidores elected will present on the 30th of December their credentials to the Secretary of the civil branch in order that he will put an account of them in a book.
2. Having verified this, he will give an account to them on the following day in the town hall, for which he will name a commission of three people who will identify the people named.
3. On the 1st of January of each year the first judge will meet in the meeting room and present the oath before the civil officials, chaired by the Prefect or Subprefect along with the remaining members of the group, as is stated in article 164 of the law of the 20th of March, 1837. The form of the oath will be the following:

   "I swear to God to preserve and to have others preserve the constitutional laws decreed and sanctioned by the National Congress in the year of 1836". To which the response will be, "Yes, I swear."

   Concluding the oath, they will take their seats. The outgoing officials will cease their functions, and they will be withdrawn from the place of the meetings.

The elaboration of ritual beyond the requirements of the law in household settings as well as in the town hall reveals the significance of ceremonial acts in these small, endogamous communities. The inauguration is a

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621 527 [537] *holy year. And so we shall be able to do what our mothers and what our fathers did here where the holy Father sees us and the holy Mother sees us."*

[782] *The formal prayer, using elements of all the addresses of pat?o?tan, presages the events which will take place and announces the continuity with the past in following out the work the ancestors have done. The civil authorities, like the religious authorities, assert that they are taking on a holy responsibility. There is, in the words of the pat?o?tan, no distinction between profane and sacred obligations toward the village.*

[273] *Following the drinking and prayers, liquor is served. Drinking order always follows the elder to younger pattern which, in household settings, is always coincident with prestige ranking. At midnight, coffee, bread, and bean-filled tamales are served.*

621 527 574 *The second series of household gatherings takes place on the morning of New Year's Day in the houses of the new president, the first judge, and the first policeman. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the other three regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house and are served coffee and liquor. They then proceed to the house of the president. As the judges and regidores arrive there, the visiting group greets all of the assembled guests at the president's house with a prescribed greeting, the* sak'inaltat *and the hand-kissing, called* ?utzk'aab. *The first judge exchanges an extended pat?o?tan with the first nakawane of the president and then liquor is served to all those gathered. The assembled group next stands and "turns toward the rising sun." This is said to be a "defense against the entry of the devil."*

While the higher officials meet in the house of the president, the policemen join togther in the houses of the first policeman on each side of the dual division. Just as in the house of the president, the ceremony consists in serving liquor and coffee. They await the sound of the firecrackers set off in the yard of the president's house before setting out for the town hall. With this announcement of the departure, the officials at the president's house and at the two first policemen's houses set out for the town hall.

621 527 *Gathered in the town hall are the old officials along with the alfereces and the principals. The new officials enter two by two, the president and*

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621 527 [788] [554] *cials, from the last policeman to the first and second judges. The procession makes two turns "to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."*

[794] [782] *Awaiting the arrival of the new officials in the church are all of the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are." The new officials enter two by two and proceed to the altar rail where they "speak to God," asking for health so that they can fulfill their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father cabildo."*

621 529 • 273 *The first order of the new president is to ask the fourth regidor to buy two liters of the "gift of the ancestors," contraband liquor. When the liquor arrives, the first judge rises and goes to the principales. Standing before them while they remain seated, he asks permission of God to "receive the gift," or drink the liquor, saying, "Give pardon, Mamal Krinsipal; let a little enter and warm your body."*

The policemen, after leaving the church, enter the kitchen shack attached to the town hall. The first new policeman orders the fourth policeman to bring a little trago, and when he returns with the liquor, the first policeman orders one of the policemen of the colonias to measure the drinks. They drink one liter, after which the first policeman of the lower division addresses the first policeman of the upper division in the pat?o-?tan. After the spatbeyo?tan, *or formal address, the first policeman wonders "whether they can endure a little more. Can they drink more liquor without getting drunk?" It is his responsibility to receive any orders from the president, and he wonders, "What should happen if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the mamal judge and we cannot help. Better rest a while, and if there is an errand we can help a little. If there is no errand, let us drink a little more until midday." At twelve noon both groups retire to their homes to rest their hearts.*

794 527 *Inauguration of religious officials.* The change of the mayordomos occurs twice annually, once on January 6 and a second time on the Day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29. San Pedro is associated with

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the functions of the caretakers of the church because, one informant said, his image shows him holding the keys to the gates of heaven. 794 527

The ritual of the inauguration begins on June 29, a day called Pas Kantelero, *prepare the candle holders. The old mayordomos who have served for the past six months scrape the candle sticks, while two of the group play the drum and blow the flute. Others sweep the church and clean the interior. Then the fiscal and the mayordomos gather outside the church. A table is brought out, and the money that has been collected from each mayordomo by the two cofrades to be used for the purchase of candles is counted. When the money has been counted, two mayordomos ring the bells in the bell tower. Two servings of contraband liquor are passed out, one called "arrival of our food," before the meal, and the other called "wash down the meal," afterwards. Formerly a meal, consisting of a male turkey, or beef soup if the mayordomos could not afford a turkey, with tortillas and chile, was prepared and served in the church yard. This is now eaten in the home of the cofrade because the priest objected to the preliminary drinking session.* [273] [262]

On the second day of the fiesta, called Wišpereš, *the mayordomos "make a fiesta" which consists of beating the drums, playing the flute, and drinking trago. Early in the morning the priest gives a mass for San Pedro and San Pablo attended by the old and new officials and the women.* [533]

A series of house celebrations takes place in the houses of the cofrades. The new mayordomos go first to the house of the cofrade of Santa Lucía. There they are offered the mouthwash, a bowl of cold water with which they rinse their mouths, followed by a round of two drinks each. The Cofrade of Santa Lucía then speaks to the Tatil of San Pedro the Martyr: [273]

Cofrade of Santa Lucía: "Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal? Thanks that you are alive, word of God, at daybreak. What will we do? What have we done? We have to speak of what is in our heart, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials, where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our judge San Pedro and

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After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?estatel."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucia blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

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ranged with a large table in the center, the candles allotted to each mayordomo laid out in bundles of nine. On the table is a little cross of the crucified Christ. The priest blesses the new mayordomos and the old mayordomos. Then the fiscal gives nine candles wrapped in a napkin to each mayordomo. The nič'nal, junior mayordomo, of each saint first takes the candles allotted to the tatil to the latter's house, and then takes his own to his house. After the oath, the new mayordomos return to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento where they drink until prayer time in the evening.

On the sk'ak'alel Sk'in, *the true day of the fiesta, the new mayordomos go to hear the mass along with women prayer-reciters at seven in the morning. They then go to the house of the Cofrade of Sacramento, leaving three junior mayordomos to play the drums and flute at the door of the church. In the house of the cofrade, they count the money of the Virgin and of San Pedro the Martyr. This fund of money is passed over from the outgoing officials to the incoming officials along with interest. It is now being loaned out to local entrepreneurs. The Virgin has a fund of 228 pesos, and San Pedro the Martyr has 40 pesos. The fiscal supervises the counting of the money, and records the sum, after which the pat?o?tan is recited and drinks are served.*

In the behavioral sequences of the inauguration, several features of the structure and functioning of the hierarchy can be noted. First, one can see in the actions of the officials that the hierarchy of civil officials is not a smooth step ladder but a segmented order. The categories of officials, the alkaletik, rehiroletik, and mayoletik, act in concert, move in unison, and sit in the same area in all the settings. Each of the three categories has its internal hierarchy, ranging from first to fourth (and in the case of the mayoletik, from first to fifth, physically denoted by the order in which they sit and drink. Those who speak the greetings are the men in the first position of each category. They command their group or the group immediately below them. Thus, the judge orders the fourth regidor to get liquor, and the first policeman orders the police from the rural colonia to get liquor. By these behavioral indices one can see the ordering and grouping by age, skill in praying, and territorial identification within the segments of the civil-religious hierarchy. These principles apply, however,

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621 794 527 [192] of the legs and arms of our patron lord, Jesus, in reference to liquor). The prayer-like intonation, together with repeated invocation of the gods, gives a sacred quality to the words.

• [203] Liquor, referred to as "the gift of God" or "gift of the ancestors," is of crucial significance in both civil and religious ritual. Receiving an offering of liquor is tantamount to accepting part of the spiritual essence of the donor. Drinking in each of the domains—the house, the town hall, and the church—serves to tie together different sets of participants in the obligation system of service to the community. In Mauss' terms (1954:11) receiving the gift defines "a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent parts of persons, and persons and groups, that behave in some measure as if they were things."

[203] In both inaugurations an attempt is made to control the intake of liquor so that the officials can function in the ritual. This is shown in the civil inauguration when the first policeman thinks about whether the police can take another drink and still carry out their duties. It is more explicit in the religious inaugurations when the cofrades warn the mayordomos that they should not drink so much that they "walk like madmen." The mayordomos then pass on the drinks served to them to the nakawanehetik who drink them and fall into a stupor.

621 794 527 793 875 In noting the difference between elicited and performed ritual, minimal changes in behavior provided clues to structural change. The change of custom as to where the meal of the mayordomos takes place (it now is given at the house of the cofrade rather than in the courtyard of the church) indicates a significant shift in the relation between the priest and the local religious leadership. The priest has gained control over the church since he has taken up residence in the parish house. The incident in which the confrontation took place is described in Chapter 9. Divergence of the performed from the expected ritual in the inauguration of the civil authority occurred when the schoolteacher delivered the oath instead of the former Ladino secretary. This revealed the schoolteacher's increasing power in his competition with the former cacique.

621 794 527 The rituals of both civil and religious inaugurations reveal the sense of the sacred obligation to the ancestors. Although both the roles and the scheduling of events are derived from outside the culture, the necessity for

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newly cut pine canes of the police and the old carved and painted staffs of the higher officials.

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Order and measure, respect and deference are the social effect achieved in the ritual performance of the inaugurations. In the act of drinking, these principles become behaviorally explicit. The drink is carefully measured out and passed to the first principal, who asks permission to drink it of each set of officials in order of their ranked positions in the hierarchy. Each official must receive the drink, whether he is a teetotaler or not. He will then perform the action of drinking, which is sufficient to express his good will as part of the group. The symbolic act of pretending to drink—receiving the "gift" and raising it to one's lips without imbibing—reveals the importance of acts *as such* in social interaction. This is expressed in the Tzeltal loan term *ʔaksion*, from the Spanish *acción*, the pretended act, which demonstrates in this case one's good will in joining in the communal act. We have a tendency in our culture to downgrade the act, stressing motive specific to the immediate goal of the act. If performance is motivated by other goals, we express it in phrases such as "He is only acting," or "It was all a big act." In Tzoʔontahal, the play is the thing, and everything can be justified by reference to traditional expectations.

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Before describing some of the organizational changes which are affecting the civil-religious hierarchy, I shall at this point assess its viability on the basis of structural criteria. These criteria include the effectiveness of the system in (1) coordinating roles such that conflict is minimized in carrying out tasks, (2) motivating people to enter into office and fulfill obligations, (3) absorbing changes without structural modification.

The primary devices for coordinating roles in the hierarchy are those of relative age and residence in the dual division. The major challenge to the age-respect pattern has been the introduction of young leadership in the roles of president and síndico. This shock to the system has been somewhat overcome by the retention of the ceremonial primacy of the principales. The president and síndico are considered outside the traditional hierarchy. This conceptual isolation of the roles becomes obvious when one asks informants to list the civil officials, for they never include the president and síndico in the first response. They are mentioned in response to repeated enquiries as to whether there are other officials.

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The principle of balancing posts according to residence in the dual division is maintained in the traditional civil posts but fails to be effective again in the case of the president. Increasing population in the upper division meant that the expensive post of alférez had to be filled primarily from the side with the highest population. This unbalancing of the sharing of these burdensome posts eventually led to revolt and the post was abolished. Since it was the key post in learning prayers, its loss may mean the end of the traditional rituals in the home.

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The hierarchy fails to provide sufficient prestige or power to motivate people voluntarily to undertake some posts. The most vulnerable post was that of alférez. In fulfilling obligations to the saints, alfereces used to spend over 3,000 pesos, twice the normal income of a man in one year. They were assisted by members of their immediate households either in loans or in the sale of pottery to help pay for the house fiestas. The show of wealth at these fiestas, when up to one hundred guests were fed, excited the envy of neighbors, often among the invited guests. It was felt that this provoked witchcraft, and every former alférez I knew maintained that he suffered some catastrophe following his year in office. In the last few years before its demise in 1966 the post was accepted only under duress, and all those who had been nominated at first chose to go to jail. The reason that it survived as long as it did was the insistence of those officials who served in this post that it was essentail to maintaining good fiestas. The resolution of the contradictions by abolishing the post contrast with that of Zinacantan, where men sought the prestige-conferring posts that involved large expenditures of money as a validation of wealth (Cancian 1965).

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Another contradition which minimizes the motivation to undertake the traditional posts is that the highest post in the ladder, that of principal, is one associated with embarrassment and shame rather than prestige. Shorn of his roles in decision-making and in guarding public funds, the principal is reduced to holding the plate in which donations for the major fiestas are placed. The ceremonial role of the principales will probably survive, however, since the old men of the community who have retired from active work in the fields enjoy the drinking sessions in the cabildo sufficiently to compensate for the shame associated with the role.

The internal structural contradictions have to be considered in the con-

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796 boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

Table 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santu?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Lucía	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

[533] [988] [794] [273] In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

[273] [276] During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safe-[794] guards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

796 273 539 The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

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Well, hear now how liquor first appeared. They were looking and looking for a bullfighter. But there was none to be found. There was no one drunk enough to make a fiesta. With no one to make a fiesta, there was no fiesta. Therefore Santa Lucía and Santiago wanted to make a fiesta. Santa Lucía said, "There is no one to make a fiesta. I better go take a bath. When the water comes to wash me, then we can have a fiesta. It is because now you are very frightened. You cannot mount on horseback. No one will fight the bull because there is no liquor. You are not prepared because you have to have a liter of trago."

"Good," said Santiago. After Santa Lucía and Santiago spoke they took the water from Santa Lucía's bath and took out of it one liter of trago. They distributed one liter to all and we changed. They built a beautiful corral and everyone in the town gathered.

Well, when they had arrived, they gave a little liquid in the little cup. After drinking a little, it gave strength. Well, everyone changed greatly. Those who drank the trago found strength with each drink. But since many drank, no one got drunk. They finished one liter and then another, but no one got drunk. "Better get another," said someone. They got one more liter, and with this they began the fiesta. One after another mounted on horseback, and fought the bull. Thus they fought, one horse tied to another. How they fought that fiesta! Thus they went on, getting more and more drunk, until the women hid it.

It is thus that liquor appeared by the grace of our patron God. It is for this reason that we say in the pat?o?tan "the washings of his legs and of his arms our saint and leader Jesus Christ, the great master holy Jesus Christ, Santiago, Santa Lucía. So we gather at the door, our clay, our mud." We speak these words because of the liquor, because God gave the trago only by washing himself, only by his powerful urine. There was no trago for the old forefathers because the washings were given to their offspring. So it is that liquor appeared according to this story. Later it was related in the pat?o?tan. Now it is the custom for everyone.

This story is somewhat confused since it is Santa Lucía who took the bath and Jesus Christ who is given the credit. Others have told me that the first liquor appeared when Jesus was taken from the cross and his

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796 539 273 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 794 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and receives the visitors with the pat?o?tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

[562]

796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

[534]

Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 178 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

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794 796 *Judge: "By force you must receive it. You do not have to give as much. You only have to receive the sacred banner."*

Nominee: "But if I don't give a fiesta, the pueblo will speak badly of me."

Judge: "It is not important what the pueblo says. Pardon us, let us drink a little trago."

[273] *[All the officers drank, contributing jointly to buy the liquor. Each officer took one sip from the measure, but the nominee drank the entire measure on each round. When he became intoxicated, he yielded to the persuasions of the officials and agreed.]*

Nominee: "Good. I am going to see how it goes."

[The two regidores carried the new alférez to his house.]

794 796 The activities of the alférez in preparation for the fiesta during which he was installed in his post are summarized below.

434 462 323 Making pottery. *The new alférez prepared for the fiesta by organizing his household to make the pottery that was to be sold to cover the expenses. His brothers and brothers-in-law went on horseback bringing fifteen or twenty loads of clay. The women got the sand, carrying it back with the tumpline. The men went on horseback again to collect the limestone temper, which the women would grind and mix with the clay for cooking pots. The next week, the alférez went with a gift of 2 pesos' worth of bread and one liter of liquor to ask the woman who knew how to make large ollas, pots in which the festal foods are cooked, to help him. The sisters and sisters-in-law of both the alférez and his wife joined together to grind the temper and mix the clay. In addition to the special large pots, the women made bowls, soup plates, and water jugs to sell.*

When the pottery was ready to be fired, the men brought the wood and the women tended to the firing. After the pots were fired, the men sold them in the markets of San Cristóbal or Comitán. They usually made about 26 pesos per dozen, which netted them about 500 pesos.

794 782 Learning the pat?o?tan. *Each evening, an elder of the family of the alférez who knew the pat?o?tan, or prayer, came to teach him. This*

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might have been his father, an uncle, or a godparent who had already served as alférez. 794 782

Buying festal foods. *The following items were purchased in the neighboring Ladino town of Himlol: 120 pesos' worth of bread; one-half a slaughtered bull for 600 pesos; 6 almudes of beans; 10 kilos of coffee; and 5 pesos' worth of brown sugar. If the alférez owned a bull, he slaughtered it and sold one half.* 794 796 [43]

Preparing liquor. *The alférez rented a still and, with the help of his father and brothers, distilled 7 garafones (126 liters) of liquor, using brown cane sugar.* [273] [429]

Preparing special clothing. *The following items were purchased or bought: jacket for 50 pesos; shirt for 55 pesos; hat for 30 pesos; pair of boots for 32 pesos; red waistband for 16 pesos; and red kerchief for 9 pesos.* 794 796 43 [241]

The hat was made by a man in the town. When the alférez went to ask him to do him the favor of making a hat, he brought 1 peso's worth of bread, 1 liter of trago, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. The alférez borrowed black leather leggings and a black towel. To each of those who lent him clothing, he gave 1 liter of trago, 1 peso's worth of bread, and 40 cents' worth of chocolate. When he returned the clothing, he gave the same gifts. [426]

The installation of the new alférez. *During the four days of the fiesta of the saint with which he was charged, the new alférez was initiated into his duties in office. In taking on each of the functions assigned to him, that "dialectical connection between the actor and his part, the person and his roles or status or office," was effected (Fortes 1959:57).* 794 796

The first day (Paswamal). *On the first day of every large fiesta,* Paswamal *(literally, "to make the boughs or decorations"), the women of the household and the sisters and sisters-in-law of the new alférez and his wife gathered in his house to cook the food. The men slaughtered the* [252] [262]

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tives whose positions in this household fiesta are established on the basis of their age and experience in office, took up the established positions for these roles in the house of the new alférez. The first nakawane blessed the liquor; two bottles were measured into shot glasses and served to the guests. After this the meal was served.

The second day (Wišpereš). *All the nakawanehetik appointed for the new alférez gathered in his house at nine o'clock in the morning to drink. The first and second nakawanehetik went to the cabildo to ask the judge and president when the new alférez must take out the holy banner. The president replied that it would be in two days. The question was rhetorical: everyone knew that the ceremony of taking out the banners occurred on the fourth day of the fiesta, and the day itself was named* Šlok' Krus, *taking out of the cross (the banner has a cross adorning the staff). What was being communicated to the civil officials by the question was the recognition of responsibility to the new alférez by the nakawanehetik. In the afternoon of this day, another meal of beef stew and tortillas was served to the same guests assembled on the previous day.*

The third day (Sk'ak'halel Sk'in). *At cock's crow the parents of the new alférez awakened him. Gathered in the house were the woman speaker, the guitarist, and the nakawanehetik. Under the direction of the woman speaker, the alférez' wife helped him put on his clothing, and the guitarist accompanied this procedure with music. When he was dressed, the new alférez danced a turn before the assembled guests to show his new clothing, and reviewed the pat?o?tan with the nakawanehetik who had taught him. He then went with his guitarist to raise his companions. First he went to the third alférez and awakened him. He greeted the nakawane of the third alférez with the pat?o?tan, and was invited to sit down; he was served coffee and bread, followed by a mouthwash. The third alférez dressed, and after the two were served liquor they danced a turn. In this same fashion, the new alférez raised all of his companions. The assembled group went to the cabildo.*

The nakawanehetik and the b'alnialetik, after drinking coffee and eating bean tortillas, went to collect the things needed to receive official

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794 796 *aetik, and finally the new alférez. The first judge spoke with each set of officials, saying, "God, we have finished the gift of your ancestors"; and the departing alférez said, "So it is, elders."*

The new alférez took his banner from the table and went outside with the four personaetik, followed by the other alfereces carrying their banners, and by the president, the síndico, and the koronaetik, who carried their staffs of office. They went in a procession to the home of the outgoing alférez; at the fence of his house, they lined up their banners in the stand provided. The wife of the outgoing alférez, with the nakawane, brought burning incense from the house and placed it before the banners. The first nakawane exchanged the pat?o?tan with the first judge. In a column of paired officials, they approached the house and seated themselves on the porch. The judges went to the first nakawane and greeted him with the pat?o?tan; then, standing at the door of the interior of the house, the first judge repeated the greeting with the woman speaker.

[273] *The nakawane ordered the b'alnialetik to bring the fermented corn gruel. After it was served, the b'alnial put a small table in the middle of the porch, covered it with the embroidered cloth, and set two liters of liquor on it. The nakawane rose and gave the pat?o?tan to the first judge. He asked permission of the woman speaker to drink, and when this was granted, the b'alnialetik measured out and served the trago.*

[535] *After the two bottles of trago had been consumed, the alisil took the wife of the outgoing alférez, and the dance began, following the same*
[788] *pattern described above. The dancing was followed by a procession to the church in which the new alférez carried the banner, thereby asserting his succession to the office. The old alférez remained in his house with his assembled guests.*

[788] *In the movement of the banners by the alfereces, one could see the symbolic military behavior: the procession to the house was a mock column of march; the military titles of the alfereces and the "colonels" were carried out in vocative and referential titles in the prayers. The handling of the banners was always done with show of sacred respect: cloths were used to handle them, and they were always set carefully in appointed places so the pole never touched the ground; incense was set nearby when they were unattended. In the cermonial movment from the houses of the al-*

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794 796 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[276] [273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:*

794 796 539

> *And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand* [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give hit gŏdchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre. [273]

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall. [273] [621] [533]

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races. [273] [276]

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and* [273]

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the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly appointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.

The final day, called Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring

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towns and explain small-scale change over short periods of time. The contextual description of behavioral details may eventually overcome the lack of replicable events available to laboratory science. By specifying all the conditions of the ritual, it is possible to separate the unique from the patterned components. At one level, the analysis consists in indicating the repetitive patterns and the continuity of beliefs which these exemplify. At another level, rituals can be analyzed as psychodramas in which the individual adopts a social role. The dialectical connection between the new official and his role is established in the obligations he carries out.

When people are asked "why" something is done, they continually shift between the social and psychological levels. "We do this because it was the custom of our ancestors," they will frequently say. When pressed further, they reduce their level of response to the individual, saying, "The women don their husband's ceremonial hat because they wish to hide their face because of embarrassment." Both answers are true interpretations, differing only in the level of social complexity at which the enquiry is directed. One can go farther in elaborating the latent significance of the ritual acts. To continue with the same example, the dance drawing the wife into a public performance was performed because, as one informant said, "she too has done work for the fiesta" (she made pottery to raise the money). The dance gains the favor of the saints, as is demonstrated in the Virgin's tactics with the Devil, and in the curing rituals with the spirits of the house and of the springs. Dancing establishes a relationship to the group: the women dancing in the center of the circle formed by their husbands revolving around them are incorporated as an integral part of a sacred social unit.

Rituals provide a key to the psychic dynamics of the group since they deal with these explicitly. The ritual acts are predicated on expected individual responses. For example, since liquor overcomes embarrassment,[5] it

5. Bennett and Zingg (1937) have stated the even more dramatic social significance of liquor among the Tarahumara. Social intercourse in this mountain tribe is impossible without liquor. Conditioned as they are in isolated nuclear family groups to retreat at the sign of an outsider, the Tarahumara need something to relax their embarrassment and fear in large gatherings. Landa (Tozzer 1941) has commented at length on the compulsory drinking at ceremonials of the Yucatecan Maya.

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is served when the expectations are that the individual will feel embarrassment. These occasions formerly occurred when the company arrived at the house of the alférez before the dance and when the alfereces mounted their horses. Cigarettes signal relaxation, and when the first round of cigarettes is served in the house setting, the company abandons formal restraints and, led by the chief nakawane, indulges in joking.

Carnival and Easter Week. Carnival has changed over time more than any other religious ceremonial in the town. Until five years ago, a group of masked jokers visited the houses of the captains of the fiestas. They wore Ladino clothing, including vest, pants, and shoes, and they hid their faces behind masks or painted them black. They danced a "Ladino dance" (paired couples), first in the church and then in the houses of the alfereces. While dancing, they made sexual allusions about unmarried women. Their joking emphasized their strangeness to the villagers; for example one of the jokers might say, "You do not know what type of person I am. An airplane made me." They carried small stuffed animals which they made "cry." Pretending they were the husband of a woman, they would go to her and tell her to take care of her "baby." The woman speaker would sometimes respond to their jokes, saying, "Who are you? You are not good looking, you little black boy. You must be from Germany or from the other side of the water. Maybe you are from Patwitz or Yetawitz, and your father is kurik." People say the custom was discontinued because it was too expensive to give liquor to the jokers.

Another carnival custom which has been lost is the "common meal" of squash on the five Fridays of Lent. Formerly the wives of the four kobraria brought squash from hot country, cooked it, and brought two gourds each to the church. The assistant divided it, giving two pieces to each of the mayordomos. This custom was stopped during the typhoid epidemic of 1928 and has never been resumed because, it is said, the people did not want to lose work time. These changes may be a response to the priest's attempts to modify some of the excesses of carnival. Whether or not this is so, the people prefer to attribute change to their own decisions.

The events of Easter Week as recounted by an informant are outlined below.

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796 pulas has risen on the cross. After they have seen Him rise, all the pueblo
[533] will go out. At two o'clock in the afternoon, they will again play the sad flute, the drum, the coronet, and the matrake. All the pueblo will collect and will make another prayer to see the Tatik Eskipulas lowered from the
[198] cross. When He is lowered, they take Him out on a procession with the priest, the prayer-makers, and all the men and women of the pueblo who will hold candles, and the four guards with rifles. The first mayordomo
[533] knows how to blow the old coronet, and another mayordomo knows how to blow the sad flute, and anther plays the drum, and another plays the old matraka. After the procession goes in the plaza, it returns to the
[273] church and leaves Tatik Eskipulas in the middle of the church. The mayordomos sit outside the church and drink a liter of trago, and then go to their homes.

Saturday of glory: Very early in the morning of Saturday, they give a prayer with the sad flute and drum, with the old trumpet and with the
[202] matraka. Three times it is sounded for the pueblo to gather and hear mass. After the mass, the judge goes to speak to the police to look for a horse to mount the Jew. When the horse arrives, they take the figure of the Jew down from the church and tie him on top of the horse. A mayordomo leads him by the bridle, and he goes out in the pueblo with the flute and drum to ask for contributions. Those who know fiesta [the curers] give fifty or twenty cents or if there is nothing, they give an egg. Afterward, they return to the church and the Jew is taken from the horse. The people set fire to his straw body. When they finish burning this, they check to see how much money they collected. All the mayordomos count the money in common. If there are twenty or thirty pesos, the mayordomos make a fiesta with drum and flute.

[533] Sunday of Resurrection: Mayordomos gather and sweep church. After
[273] sweeping they play the music to open the mouth of the bell. After the
[262] mass, they go drink fermented atol with bean tortilla. They eat a hen or rooster to make a fiesta for our Holy Lord because he is resurrected and because all the town is happy. They give the mayordomos fermented atol to drink. Then they return to the church and take out the lord cross, take out the jail, and the bed where the Father Eskipulas slept.

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of political relations is summarized for each of these conflict areas. Most of the events recorded below are transcriptions of informants' statements given in Tzeltal. I have chosen this method to show how the people interpret incidents and how this leads to cognitive restructuring.

The Conflict among Civil Officials

In the period of consolidation since the revolution, the crucial issue in determining the allocation of power among local civil authorities has been that of incorporating men who have special abilities to deal with external authority without upsetting an age-ranked system. Prior to the 1950s these skills were rare—in 1920 only four young men could sign their names and read. The civil careers of two men, Ceferino, a native of the town, and Augustín, a revistido Indian from Huistán, illustrate the different courses taken by this new leadership in the post-revolutionary period of the 1930s. Ceferino was included in the given structure of power while Augustín used his skills in dealing with Ladinos to gain personal power. Ceferino was one of the first four men of the town to learn to read and write. The civil authorities recognized his potential usefulness in the town hall, and succeeded in incorporating him in an honorific but powerless position as scribe. He described his introduction into local government:

After I got out of school, the town saw that I knew how to write. Formerly there was no one who knew how to write. In the town hall the judges and president needed someone to write down the contributions and the payment for the government agents. Therefore, when the civil authority changed in the new year, they talked to my mother. As was the custom then, four regidores came to "raise" me, bringing a bottle of trago as a gift for my mother. She did not drink it alone. Together with the regidores we finished the trago. After finishing the trago, the first regidor began to speak to my mother in the pat?o?tan, saying, "I am going to bring one of your children, one of your offspring to the place where we look and where we see [reference to town hall]. We ask this favor because he knows how to write. Therefore the judges and the president ordered me to come and raise him and take out his soil, his mud, for this duty for this obligation.

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212 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy*
621 *year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."

I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."

I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall. [*Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.*]

[593] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."

[593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.

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In the strategy of incorporating new leadership, these tactics are employed.

1. The four regidores are assigned the task of bringing the novice scribe to the town authorities. They are the official recruiters for civil and religious office.

2. The request is made to the parent of the appointed scribe in the formal speech of the pat?o?tan. The appeal is cast in terms of the sacred nature of the task with reference to the "holy" nature of the post to be undertaken on this "holy hour, holy day and holy year."

3. The contractual relationship is initiated as always with a drinking session. The scribe is introduced into the drinking order as fourth in rank. The officials show solicitude as he is taught to drink "the gift of the gods and the ancestors." Once the gift of liquor has been accepted, the recipient has no recourse except to fulfill the obligation.

These tactics, used also in other contractual arrangements, were inadequate to the task of inducting foreign Indians living in the township into the traditional hierarchy. In 1929, a Huistecan Indian, Augustín, who had worked as a laborer in a finca within the township, became president. Although he could not read, he was able to speak Spanish fluently. He succeeded in getting the first ejido grant under the land reform act of 1927.

During his term of office, Augustín was accused of abusing his authority on several occasions, as the following account shows:

When I was very young, my father told me about this land case. Augustín was president then. He tried to get land from my uncle's father-in-law, Juan. My uncle, Bartolo, defended his father-in-law's right to the land because he had good friends in Tuxtla. Augustín spoke Spanish very well, but he did not know how to read. Since my uncle knew how to read well, he gained the case. Augustín was angry. He invited all the curers to the town hall and ordered the police to bring in my uncle. My uncle was given something in a cup of liquor, and in three days he died.

Even if this story is untrue, or distorted because of the family relationship of the narrator and the victim, it reveals the sense of being exploited

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tural opposition between the two sides of the dual division. In this case, resolution came with the intercession of federal troops.

When curing was a controlled profession, with a hierarchy legitimizing entry and exit, the power of the curers was directed toward guarding the village against evil as well as curing. In the 1940s, the loss of one leader by death and the other's jail sentence meant loss of control over entry into the profession. A growing suspicion and discontent with the curers as a group, laying upon them the responsibility of much of the witchcraft, is reflected in the account of another older informant:

> *Formerly when the curers J. C., A. A., S. K., and J. D. were alive, they walked in common. The people were in accord with the curers because they watched over the peublo. They knew about medicine, and so people of Alannantik went to ask them favors to cure them and also the people of Ahk'olnantik went to ask them favors.*
>
> *But then, after they died [about 1940], the principales did not dare fight the curers because they had animal spirits, and the principales themselves didn't—they were just honorable people.*

The doubt about the civil authority's control over the curers has increased since young leaders have taken the leadership in the town. One informant said, "When there are young people in the cabildo, they can't keep control of the curers, but the old people in the cabildo can." With the relaxation of restrictions on entry into the curing profession, following the loss of leadership and the ranked hierarchy, curers were no longer restrained by professional standards. When drunk, they bragged of their power to do evil as well as to do good. The first killing of a curer accused of being a witch occurred in 1937. He was working in Pinola when he was shot. The dead curer's widow wanted to bring his body back to be buried in the town cemetery, but the request was refused by the judges. This suggests that the town authorities agreed with the accusation, since it is the custom to return the dead to the town for burial. Other assassinations by individuals occurred in 1943 and in 1950. During this period, the civil officials sanctioned the assassinations of persons accused and convicted of witchcraft. When someone wished to kill a man suspected of witchcraft, they would go to the town hall and ask for permission. After a re-

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Conflict among Religious Functionaries

Conflict in the religious domain stems from the opposition of the traditional religious hierarchy and more recently that of the young leadership in the civil authority to the increasing power of the priest. In this conflict the fiscal is a middleman who often gets knocked by both sides.

The priest. The priest visits thirty other Indian communities of the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas in addition to Tzo'ontahal. In the fifteen years he has been working regularly in this town, he has gained increasing authority over the cofrades. He is assisted by two lay sisters who maintain the church and lead the evening prayers in his absence. He admits that, without them, his own work in the town would be more difficult because of the sexual jealousy of the townsmen. His relationship to the group of about forty *resadoras,* or female prayer-makers, who attend the evening prayers regularly and are the most vocal respondents in the mass, would be suspect without the presence of the lay sisters.

The priest tries to play the role of parish leader as well as spiritual leader. When medicine is available from missionary sources, he gives it to the sick. In his sermons, he advises people to use injections, which he makes available, against contagious diseases. He attempts to counsel the people, advising them not to kill, to steal, or to have illegal sexual affairs. In his role as pastor, the priest is influenced by missionary efforts of American Catholic organizations which have sent supplies to the area.

In recent years, the priest has challenged the authority of the head cofrade in activities occurring within and at the door of the church. The following incident, recounted by the son of the elder cofrade, marked a shift in control in these domains:

In 1961 the elder cofrade of Sacramento was drinking with the other mayordomos at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The elder replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered

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578 793 794 273 *to cook their meal in the yard of the church. They threatened to beat the priest with the wood, and he retreated into the church. He later announced that he would not give mass, or weddings, or baptism. We did not mind that he did not give the mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting, and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for him without payment. We pay him fifteen pesos for an ordinary mass and forty pesos for a singing mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.*

[465]

[264] As a result of this edict, the drinking has stopped and the mayordomos no longer eat the common meal in the church yard. Drinking was an act linked to eating, since the round of liquor served before the meal was "to prepare the stomach," and the drink after the meal was "to wash down the food." The shift to the house of the cofrade was a ready alternative in this community where the household is a recognized ritual domain.

793 794 178 The priest's control over the church has extended to control over the donation boxes and the saints' images. He now receives the money donated to the saints and does not permit a public accounting of the funds. Because of this, the civil officials accuse him of stealing some of the money. A recent incident recounted below by one of the prayer-reciters led to even more severe censure:

793 796 626 578 178 *The bishop visited our church, and when he looked under the silk robes of the Virgin Santa Lucía he found a wooden dress covered with gold paint. He told the priest to have the cloth dress removed. The people were very upset by this since they are very proud of the dresses bought for the Virgin. One of the prayer-reciters dreamed that the Virgin appeared before her in tears, saying she did not want to appear nude in public. We [the group of prayer-reciters] went to see the bishop to demand that the Virgin should wear her dress in church and that the priest be sent out of the town. The bishop refused. He said the Virgin did not feel cold because she was just a statue. Ha! How could she not feel cold?*

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does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nił'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal).

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577 682 in the following statement by a man who admitted to me that he had killed two men:

The padre said that those who kill will get killed. The one who kills also receives all the guilt of his victim and will have to pay for it in the after-world. But my father said that when he was a policeman, there was a man in Tejonero who killed for nothing when he got drunk. He always carried a knife and would kill anyone around. However, he lived until he was very old. Therefore I do not believe the padre.

577 775 Concern about the afterworld does not act as a deterrent to action in this world.

783 794 Most men ignore the priest's attempts to persuade them to go to confession. Women, especially the prayer-reciters, confess and take communion. Their confessions, according to the priest, are a recitation of the sins of their husbands or their neighbors.

• 293 577 Drinking is often given as a defense for failing to meet standards of behavior. While this serves to excuse minor infractions, a man is supposed to be responsible for his actions even when drunk. When one policeman started a fight in public, an elder judge commented to my informant:

Look at that, younger brother! I drink liquor when I am very drunk, but I do not fight either my elders or minors. When I passed as president formerly, I used to enter the cabildo, and I spoke well to the judges even if I was drunk. One time I came to your house very drunk and you were half drunk, but you did not say anything to me, nor did I. You did not fight. Thus I walk well. I never fight, nor have I gone to prison, and it is because I give respect to my elders and to my juniors.

Reflecting on this advice, my informant added:

And so it is with me also. I have drunk a great deal in Ahk'olnantik [the opposite section from where he lives] both at day and at night. Whoever speaks to me tells me to go drink with them a little liquor, and sometimes I give them a drink or I take them where they sell liquor and we drink. But I never fight, and I am able to drink wherever I like.

626 273 431 The community has developed techniques for compensating failure to meet behavioral norms. The most frequently used is an offering of the

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"gift of the gods," liquor, to the party whose interests have been slighted. This is done in the case of a suitor who is asking for a woman of the other side of the dual division; he gives the bachelors of that side a garrafón of liquor in compensation for the loss of a potential mate. Liquor has become a substitute for the sacrifice of a child by a man being initiated into the curing profession. Informal offerings of liquor may be made between neighbors or relatives who have been fighting with each other. Liquor is a kind of universal social solvent in disputes, and figures importantly in court cases which are always terminated in a drinking session.

Another technique is simply a payment in money to compensate for damages. In some homicide cases, the payment of "blood money" has compensated the family of the victim to avoid legal action. This is never done, however, if the community agrees that the victim was a witch. Payment of fines in court is another such form of compensation. These payments or offerings minimize the bloodshed or personal involvement in conflictual relations. Payment by the man judged guilty will ensure his reincorporation into his customary place in the community without stigma.

While it is impossible to elicit from informants a theory of roles, it is possible to formulate the principles underlying roles. These are deduced from behavioral observations and from evaluations made of the performances of others. They can be summarized in the following propositions:

1. There is a clear separation between role and role-bearer. This is seen most clearly in the passage through civil and religious offices with a minimum of "halo" effect. It is also found in the situation of household officials whose authority in directing affairs within a household ceases when the ceremony in which they officiate is over. The separation ensures flexibility in a closed social system, enabling people to shift from one role to another. It also permits continuity in a system which requires an almost complete turnover of personnel each year.

2. Function performed is separate from role in which it is performed. This applies even in those roles which are designated on the basis of the most important function required of the performer, for example woman speaker, liquor measurer, and basket carrier. All of

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these role-bearers have other functions to perform, but the term specifies the most significant of these. Other people may unofficially perform these acts but only the officially appointed person has the other prerequisites for and duties of the role.

3. Recruitment into roles depends on age and sex qualifications. Validation of the role emphasizes, in addition to these ascribed characteristics, innate capacity rather than acquired ability. For example, the curers who are respected are assumed to have been born with an animal spirit, while those who are believed to have acquired it are suspected of being witches. Similarly, high civil officials are expected to be innately clever, not just trained for office.

4. Evaluation of performance emphasizes the state of the heart and qualifies judgments of the person according to characteristics of the mind and of the soul. The heart governs emotions such as contentment or inner turmoil and determines the moral relations a person has with others. The mind enables a man to deal effectively in his instrumental activities so that he can speak and work well. Possession of a second soul means that one is clever and capable, but it is the third soul which gives power over the life and death of others. The exchange of evaluations about others is a crucial area of concern in the tense atmosphere dominated by fear of whichcraft. In the belief that their very survival depends upon knowledge of the intent of others before it is expressed in witchcraft, the people constantly consult with relatives, compadres, neighbors, or the curers, in order to anticipate changes in their relations with others.

5. Sanctions against behavior that fails to meet role expectations depend on the seriousness of the crime rather than on the attitude of the criminal. This means that compensation relieves the wrong-doer of any guilt burden. Most compensation, even for homicide, can be translated into cash payment.

6. Ceremonial behavior in everyday interaction as well as in ritual serves to limit the personal involvement in the encounter and to emphasize the role category. This is particularly emphasized in the initial stage of the encounter. Liquor and cigarettes introduce a more informal behavior in which the etiquette of reserve can be relaxed.

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Unorthodox behavior after drinking is less subject to censure than that indulged in without this stimulus.

The social changes affecting the community have not changed the categories of roles. What has happened is a shift in the power and authority associated with civil roles: the president's role for example has assumed importance over that of the principales. A full account of the changes in the role system requires a discussion of the settings in which they are enacted, the timing which gives them coherence, and the beliefs which give them meaning. Summary statements on role coordination will be given in the final chapter.

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building. When they leave the cabildo, they take their staffs as a mark of office.

The central room serves as a courthouse, a place for legislating and administering town affairs, for performing marriages, recording births and deaths, and for inaugurating new officials. Everyone who goes to the courthouse has a specific purpose for being there. Regular attendance means that an established seat and place in the order of greeting and drinking is accorded—even to the anthropologist.

Each day the civil officials assemble at the town hall about eight in the morning and take their accustomed places. Sitting is an official act. In listing the duties of the president, for example, "sitting at the table" was given first in order of importance of his functions by two informants, and in the case of the judges, "sitting at the bench" was listed first.

The president opens official mail and dictates responses to the secretary, now an Indian of the village, who pecks out the letters on an ancient portable typewriter. Since typing is a new skill for him, he makes many errors, and his retrials are accepted with patience and sometimes joking by the president and judges. When the president has an order for the police, it is transmitted to the regidor, who in turn passes it on to the police. The police always carry out their orders in pairs. Interruptions occur as petitioners enter. Men come in to announce the birth of a child and receive the name of the saint's day from the president, who consults the calendar; creditors arrive to request that a debtor be jailed for nonpayment of a loan or interest. When official visitors arrive from the I.N.I. or from the Ejido Commission, the president usually rises and stands at attention, agreeing with everything said. If it is an affair of some importance, the discussion may be continued in the schoolhouse, since the teacher has gained political importance in the town. The Indians rarely oppose departmental or federal officials directly; when they are unwilling to comply with an order, they stall for time, figuring that in the long run time is with them.

When the cabildo serves as a courtroom, it provides a setting for airing not only the grievance which precipitated the court action, but also the entire spectrum of personal relations involved. More women than men resort to court, since the drinking customs for men mean that they are more often the violators of norms. Behavior in the courtroom is controlled by a

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695 minimum of explicit rules. Very little is ruled out of order, and almost
[693] nothing introduced is considered irrelevant. The dialogue is primarily between the judge and claimant and secondarily between judge and defendant. The rural judges join with the regidores, who act as court clerks when a case is heard, in a kind of Greek chorus when consensus is reached regarding statements made by defendant or claimant. The judges indicate clearly their approval or disapproval of the statements being made, and throughout the case, consensual verdicts are made in an apparently spontaneous manner. No one pretends to be impartial. Personal knowledge of the defendant or claimant is introduced into the case.

Courtroom behavior falls into three major acts: (1) the declaration by the claimant, (2) the questioning of the defendant (literally the "taking of the heart"), and (3) the paying of the fine. The judge introduces the first
[576] act by asking the claimant to "come and speak" so that they can "listen and hear." This ends formally with the claimant saying, "Good day, Elder Brother." The judge introduces the second act when he turns to the defendant, who stands before the civil officials, and says, "Speak and we shall listen, boy. What goes with you?" The defendant sums up his defense in the questioning period. The president introduces the final act, telling the defendant, "When you give a little fine you will be free."

[641] Both claimant and defendant pay court fees, an acknowledgment of the
[273] feeling that both are guilty because they are involved in a dispute. Before
[178] the term of the incumbent president began, this was paid in two liters of illegally distilled liquor, a kind of symbolic defiance of federal law. Now, since the president drinks only beer, it is paid in two family-sized bottles of beer. The etiquette of courtroom drinking is prescribed: the bottle, referred to as *smahtan*, or gift, is passed to the judge, who goes to the president and presents it to him with a few words of the pat?o?tan giving thanks for the gift. The fourth regidor then measures out the liquor, giving the first shot to the president, the next to the first judge and so on
[264] around the room. If a large fine is paid by the defendant, the president orders the police to buy meat, and a "common meal" is prepared and eaten.

693 In this society, there are neither veniremen nor specialized advocates.
695 Civil officials other than the first judge act as jurors, announcing their sentiments in unison. The judge, rather than handing down a decision, sums up the consensus of the group. Kinsmen of the claimant and defendant act

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The assumption that leisure is a concept unique to highly civilized societies is denied by peasant behavior in this community and many others like it in which the members are masters of the greater part of their time. What differentiates their scheduling of leisure-time activities from that of most western societies is that theirs is based on community decisions rather than individual predilections and that it is set in the frame of sacred rather than secular performances. Community standards are most notable in the way people dress for fiestas: women wear their newest embroidered blouses; their hair is neatly braided with ribbons. Men wear a kotončʉ with their cleanest shirt and pants. The children, except for the youngest, wear clothes like the adults'. Villagers "care for" the celebration by sitting on their porches, greeting neighbors, smoking and talking. When a public performance is held in the church or plaza, they participate as observers. Arduous work of any kind is proscribed. Special foods are prepared and served at regular mealtimes. A special mark of all days of fiesta is the serving of fermented corn beverage. Meat or chicken is more likely to be served on Sundays and holidays than on other days.

Timing as a Strategy in Interpersonal Relations

The preferred mode of action is "slow and soft." This applies to motion, especially in rituals, as well as to the scheduling of actions in a series of negotiations. The people are sensitive to the use of time in bargaining as an index to the relative resources of the negotiators. Withholding power in the market gives a marked price advantage in the sale of crops. Sale in advance of harvest means a loss of one-quarter to one-half of the price which could be gained if the crop was sold after it was cut, and corn sometimes doubles in value if withheld for six months or more. Interest as a time payment for the use of money is accepted on the basis that the borrower could put it to work. There is no feeling against the evil of usury, although the rates are relatively high in town—five percent per month.

This understanding of time as an indicator of relative strength extends to social functions. Time serves as an interval to build confidence on the part of both parties entering into contractual arrangement. In the betrothal, both parties are prepared for a long series of visits before the suit

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and adaptive responses. With the expansion of cattle raising, Indians have organized associations adjusted to the traditional dual division. The association for each side of the dual division mobilizes labor for maintaining the watering holes. The failure to organize communal corrals means that inefficient herding techniques, damage to the milpa, and frequent loss or theft of cattle persist. The association reacts to the last problem by hiring killers to get rid of those suspected of theft, but this adaptive response is limited to dealing with particular incidents and has not solved the problem.

The manufacturers of contraband liquor have succeeded in organizing a syndicate strong enough to maintain a monopoly price for both the internal and external markets and to provide security for themselves against federal agents. The syndicate mobilizes for specific actions, such as raising the bail bond for imprisoned members or punishing informers. As a community-wide organization ignoring the dual division and age-ranked seniority, it represents an adaptation in response to extra-community pressures.

The cooperatives that have been organized to manage the local store and the trucks provide permanent managerial operations that are an adaptation to growing interaction in extra-community economic activities. Cooperative owners are able to raise the capital to maintain and expand these operations. It is within these structures that entrepreneurial skills are being developed. The organizers gain the advantage not only of socializing the risk of loss but also of making a profit in a community where belief in witchcraft, fostered by envy, is rampant.

Activities in the new economic enterprises are not supported by any supernatural belief. In order to gain acceptance for the new enterprises, the entrepreneur Santos, who had organized the trucking cooperative, recognized the need for an ideology. His rhetoric drew upon the sense of deprivation Indians feel in their relations with Ladinos. He justified his own ends as an attempt to gain for all the community the profits that only Ladinos had been able to gain through trucking and crops resales in the regional markets. The ideology he had begun to formulate stressed economic and political independence from both the Ladino entrepreneurs of neighboring towns and government agents who tried to promote welfare

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Religious Behavior

Socialization of the child includes teaching him how to adjust to spirits of the house and of the surrounding hills and springs as well as to people in his social environment. He learns the obligations he owes to these spirits in the rituals of house inauguration and curing. Place spirits are given an ethnic identity. The ancestor figures who live in the cave are Indians from whom all the people originate. The Ladino spirits residing in the houses and springs are a mythological projection of a conquered people who have learned to coexist with their conquerors by paying tribute of candles, food, liquor, and entertainment. If the spirits are not won over, they will admit the evil spirits who bring sickness and death. Their presence is known only by the trouble they permit rather than by good occurences; the miracles they perform are an undoing of the harm they have permitted.

The belief in the potentially dangerous nature of these spirits when their envy or appetite is aroused is linked to an understanding that men and gods alike are jealous and vindictive. It generates behavior that is in conformity with that of the ancestors. A sense of security is reinforced by the protective symbols of incense, the cross of palm hung on the entrance posts of the yard and house, candles which "blind the eye of the devil," and garlic mixed with hot herbs which exude an odor that evil spirits dislike. When the uneasy contract between spiritual and human coresidents is upset, a curing ritual is performed to make everyone "of one heart." Behavior with respect to both spirits and people stems from a policy of appeasement through entertainment and liquor provided in household ceremonials.

Behavior differs in regard to the category of saints called "spirits in the heaven" and those called "spirits in the church." Spirits of the heavens have incorporated pre-Conquest deities with those introduced by the missions. They are a more powerful force influencing human moral behavior. Illicit sexual relations carried out in the milpa by day are believed to arouse the envy of "Our Father the Sun" who will cause the milpa to burn by refusing to give way to rain. Similarly "Our Grandmother the

755 Patient's Wife: *There he was lying down for the day.*
126 Patient: *It is the first day I have stepped foot on soil.*
Patient's Wife: *It is today.*
Patient: *I have endured it for days. So I wanted to go get help from your work. He [Emilio] told me, "Go get the horse to work in the wheat." "Good, I am going to get it. Afterward I am going to leave him in the threshing shelter." When I returned in the afternoon, I could not bear walking.*
Patient's Wife: *I told him, "Better not go yet to caponize your horse."*
Patient: *We had another little horse we were thinking of caponizing this year. But now I couldn't think of it. You have heard how it is with me. Let us see what God says.*
Curer's Wife: *Yes, give another [speaking to liquor pourer who was passing out liquor] to the women.*
[273] [554] *[All the company were given drinks. Drinking order was: father of curer's wife, curer, his two sons, wife of curer, interviewer, patient, his wife, wife of curer's two sons.]*
Curer: *Do you want a little more?*
Patient: *No, it is good.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *With your permission. [Drinks his liquor.]*
Curer [to Father-in-law]: *Enter! [Meaning, "Drink the liquor."]*
[The curer began to bleed the patient. He had eight gourds which he applied three times. He took the basin into which he poured the blood out to the yard and buried it, saying, "We cannot burn it inside because it was witchcraft."]
Curer [to patient]: *Can you endure it again?*
Patient: *I can endure it.*
Patient's Wife: *Please, father.*
Curer: *It is good. You don't have to endure it again.*
[Drinking continues.]
Curer's Father-in-law *[pouring blood into a saucer]: Look, it is black.*
Curer's Younger Son [to elder brother]: *It is not good, elder brother. [He had noted that the last gourd did not have much blood.]*
Curer's Father-in-law [to interviewer]: *Ah, God, it is not now as it was before. There is much witchcraft.*
Patient's Wife: *Let us see what came out.*
Curer's Father-in-law: *It is black because the witchcraft is well lodged in his body.*
[Curer points to his son where to make another scratch.]
Curer's Elder Son: *Where truly?*

628 establish with them the relations of posada and compadrazgo, men-
438 tioned above, as well as (in the infrequent cases of inter-com-
571 munity marriage), some affinal kinship ties. In the few recorded
608 cases of emigration from the village, some members of the com-
582 munity keep communication with a few consanguineal relatives living
628 in other Indian villages, although social exchanges and the memory
166 of such relatives tend to die out after a generation or two.
602

105 With the other Indian communities in the area, Amatenango and Aguacatenango share a common material culture and belief system, derived from a Highland Maya cultural tradition, the same linguistic background, and a subsistence pattern based on agriculture. They are peasant, in the sense that they are rural villages which depend, for survival, not only on agricultural work, but on economic exchange with other semi-urban and urban centers (Redfield, 1956:25-28).

438 Aguacatenango buys pottery and chayotes from Amatenango,
[273] whose women come periodically to sell them, and trago (drinking alcohol) which some Amatenangueros produce illegally. Amatenango buys from Aguacatenango surplus corn.

628 The two towns have amicable relations, thinking of each
[211] other as neighbors, and sharing the same pasture lands, and
312 source of water for irrigation. The two communities share the
628 same cultural hero, called Juan Lopez in Aguacatenango and Lopez
776 Shuntón in Amatenango, connected with the corn and with the "lightening who lives in a cave." For Aguacatenangueros this personage is the builder of the roads, responsible for the eradication of "cannibalism," the conversion of man-hunting animals

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Tzo⁹ontahal

Introduction

BEHAVIORAL REGULARITIES in ritual or informal interaction are usually considered the raw material for making structural-functional statements. The descriptive data are used illustratively or may never be included with published material. This monograph describes ritual activity, both elicited and observed. The object is (1) to state the behavioral dimensions of a structural-functional model and (2) to show where social changes are putting stress on that structure.

Ritual events are good occasions for such study because both communally prescribed and individually preferred behavior can be recorded. The expected behavior can be sorted out from the chance since the rules are more explicit than in ordinary interaction. Ceremonial behavior projects in a public performance a given set of status relationships. In doing things as they were done in the past, a theme repeated in prayers and in explanations for actions, people assert continuity of tradition. But just because of this, ceremonies are an occasion for dramatizing social change (Geertz, 1957). Competition between groups and tensions deriving from contradictions which are not apparent in everyday life may be expressed during the ceremony.

I have chosen the rituals of the inauguration of civil and religious officials in the community of Tzo⁹ontahal, Chiapas, Mexico, because in these performances people act out their techniques for maintaining continuity at the time of change.[1] The inauguration is a rite of passage designed to gain social acceptance of new personnel in a given set of roles. However, as in all ceremonies in this community, the occasion provides the backdrop for the release of latent hostilities. The formal ceremony requires drinking a great deal of the locally distilled liquor, "the gift of the ancestors" that makes fiestas possible.[2] Liquor rids the participants of embarrassment

[1] Field research was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health which made possible my stay from May to September, 1964, and again in December, 1964. I am grateful to Duane Metzger for providing facilities for working in San Cristobal de las Casas with my informants. Comments by Harold Conklin, Constance Sutton, and David Hunter have helped improve earlier versions.

[2] In a myth concerning the origin of liquor, it is said that the town had no fiestas until Santiago gave the gift of liquor.

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and, in fostering social intercourse, it frees them of other constraints. With the usual inhibitions removed, the social interaction following the ceremony allows the investigator to see below the surface.

We have many structural-functional descriptions of the civil-religious hierarchy of highland Maya Indian communities (Adams, 1957; Cámara Barbachano, 1952; Cancian, 1964; McArthur, 1963; Siverts, 1960, 1964; Tax, 1964; Vogt, 1965; Zabala Cubillos, 1961). The roles and functions of the hierarchy are at least minimally described in the many community studies of the area (Bunzel, 1952; Gúiteras Holmes, 1961; LaFarge, 1947; LaFarge and Byers, 1931; M. Nash, 1955; Tax, 1947a,b; Valladares, 1957; Wagley, 1949; Wisdom, 1940). We have, as well, historical summaries of the colonial and independence developments (Aguirre Beltrán, 1953; Carrasco, 1952, 1961; Chávez Orozco, 1943). In previous summaries of the structure and functioning of the hierarchies, however, systematic descriptive data on performances are mostly lacking. Vogt (1965, p. 42) has indicated the value of observing behavior as a "reliable operational measure for determining rank" in Zinacantan. Cross-community comparison of institutions would be facilitated by such behavioral data. For example, the recurrent descriptive phrase "closely integrated civil-religious hierarchy" covers a spectrum of behavioral and ideological components which ranges from one in which officials of both ladders are linked by a series of sacred acts, functions and personnel, to one in which there is independent and exclusive participation. These generalizations can be broken down to a series of acts in which they are expressed. If comparison over time or between communities is to be meaningful, we must look to the descriptive detail which went into such generalizations.

For any scheduled event such as a ritual, three sources of data are available: the expectations of what will happen, the case histories of similar events in the past, and the observation of the event. In tapping the first of these, I have used the technique developed by Metzger and Williams (1963) in formal ethnographic analysis.[1] In this approach, the informant co-

[1] I am indebted to Duane Metzger for training in these methods, and to discussions with him, Brent Berlin, and Paul Kay which helped me in working out the observation schedule.

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average annual earnings of a man in this town); failure to accept the post when it is offered brings a jail sentence. On the following day, during a drinking session in the townhall with the assembled civil officials, the reluctant nominee usually accepts.

The civil career of an individual would be one in which he passed (*sk'as*, which I gloss as 'pass'; it is the same verb as Spanish *pasar*) first as police, then as third or fourth regidor. If he has passed as alferez, he will enter as first or second regidor at this stage, and then go on to second judge and finally become first judge. If not, he will stop as third or fourth regidor. After reaching the peak of his career as first judge, he may return to the police group as *martomorey*. Present leaders of the town consider this an "ugly" custom and say they hope to change it because it puts men of major age in a position of minor importance. Formerly men had to fulfill six turns in civil office, twice as regidor and twice as judge, to be considered free of further obligation. But now, because of increasing population (according to informants), this has been lowered to five required turns. The post which has been eliminated is that of assistant judge, which is now filled by a representative of one of the two barrios.

Throughout his career in office, a household head is expected to alternate between the civil and religious posts. Religious posts are considered less onerous since they require only six months of service, from the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo at the end of June until January 6, and the men are on duty only Sundays and holidays. A balanced number of six turns in each of the branches of the hierarchy was expected, prior to the reduction of the number of civil posts to five, to bring one to the end of one's career. In a census of 311 household heads made in 1964, passage in office shows a balance between posts undertaken in each wing of the hierarchy. Of 13 men over 70 years of age, five had completed service in civil and religious office. Three who had passed as president had served only once or twice in each wing of the hierarchy. The remaining five had a balanced but incomplete career.

In the religious hierarchy, a man passes first as *nič'anil kuč ha?*, 'minor who brings liquor.' Then he will pass as *?ali?bal*, the assistant to the *kobraria*, particularly charged with the slaughter of the bull for the large fiestas. These "servants" were not distinguished from other mayordomos in the initial listing of officers, but were mentioned in the description of fiesta

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

male helpers who are usually wives of the *balnialetik*, or widows who are part of the official's or his wife's family. A fourth group are visitors who come to congratulate the new official. Particularly conspicuous because of their Ladino or non-Indian clothing in the house of the president (Chart 6) were the visitors from the outlying rancherías and colonias of Tzo?ontahal.

Validation in the household setting takes place in two scenes. The first occurs on the eve of New Year. Each new official entertains in his house the men he has chosen as his *nakawanehetik* and as his *balnialetik*. Only those *balnialetik* who are immediately related come to this gathering. The *me?il k'op*, 'woman speaker,' is present along with the wives of the *balnialetik* (Chart 2). The house is decorated with pine needles and juniper boughs in the afternoon. The visitors arrive with wood and pitchpine to light the house at about eight in the evening and stay until the liquor is finished. Drinking order is from elder to younger, which coincides with the prestige ranking. The *nakawanehetik* are served, then the *nič'anil*.

The second household gathering takes place on the morning of the New Year. Major settings for such gatherings are the house of the first judge and the house of the new president. It is the duty of the fourth regidor to assemble the three other regidores, and of the assistant judge to assemble the other judges. The two groups, regidores and judges, meet in the first judge's house. They join the president at his house and then proceed to the townhall. The group of five police from *ahk'olnantik* meet separately in the house of the first police of that side, and those of *alannantik* meet in the house of their first police.

The assembled officials proceed to the townhall, announcing with rockets to the policemen that they have left. Gathered in the townhall, referred to in the formal address or *pat?ot'an* as the *sik na*, 'cold house,'[9] are the 'old officials' *(k'a hu'eletik)* along with the alfereces and the principales. They enter two by two, the president and síndico first, followed by the two first judges, the assistant judges, and the judges of the barrios and colonias. They kneel and 'measure their noses' *(sp'is sni?ik,)* as they enter, showing respect to the holy banners which the alferoces have delivered from the church.

[9] Bunzel (1952, p. 377) translates a formal speech in which the townhall of Chichicastenango is referred to as that "cold house, the icy house," but the Quiche word is not included. The pattern of double synonyms for nouns is present in these Quiche formal texts as in the Tzeltal.

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reces have delivered from the church. The presence of the alfereces with their banners proclaims the link between civil and religious office.

The principales, now fairly inebriated after their long wait for the arrival of the new officials, pass out the staffs, assisted by the old president who helps direct them as they wander in a daze from the table to the new officials. The intoxicated state of the principales is never mentioned in elicited statements. The act of passing over the staffs is a significant index to their role in the hierarchy. As the only "permanent"

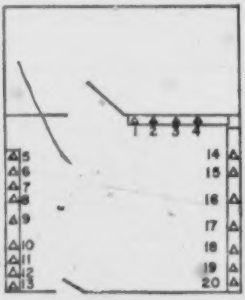

CHART 5 — MORNING, HOUSE OF PRESIDENT, NEW YEAR'S DAY (ELICITED)

OFFICIALS (all men):

1 Nakawane
2 President
3, 4 Nakawane
5 First judge
6 Second judge
7 Síndico
8, 9 Assistant judges
10 First regidor
11 Second regidor
12 Third regidor
13 Fourth regidor
14-20 *Balnialetik*

incumbents—permanent so long as they are alive, healthy, and not impoverished—they are the link between the outgoing and incoming officials. When all the old officials have retired to their homes following the ceremony, and the new officials have gone on to the church, the principales wait in the townhall for the new officials to return for the afternoon drinking session in which they will join, as they had done in the morning with the old officials.

Wearing their rosaries, the new officials follow the alfereces out of the townhall in a procession. Holding the holy banners, the alfereces line up before the townhall, dip their banners, and proceed to the

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"to show [the townspeople assembled in the plaza] who the new officials to remain in office are."

Awaiting the new officials in the church are all the mayordomos. Their function is "to watch the officials as they enter to see who they are" (App. 1, Q. 48, 49). The new officials "speak to God," asking for health so that they can complete their obligation to the town. They kiss each of the saints' pedestals and then leave the "holy mother church" to return to the "holy father townhall." There they spend the remainder of the afternoon.

The mayordomos go to the kitchen attached to the townhall. The first policeman directs the purchase of liquor and the measuring out of drinks for the ten policemen from the two sides of the dual division and the two rural commissioners. In the townhall the new president's first orders are to the fourth regidor to ask him to buy two liters of "the gift," liquor. The pardon to the ancestors, and the offering of the gift to the principales, is in the hands of the first judge, who knows the *pat?ot'an*, and can do the honors. The president is served following the principales in the round of drinking.

The change of religious officials takes place on the fiesta day of San Pedro and San Pablo, June 29, and on the day of the three Kings, January 6. This provides a six-month term of office. The new officials gather in the homes of the *kobraria* of Halal me?tik and Sakramentu, and in the church. Thus two settings, home and church, come into play with the change of civil officials, but the townhall, significantly, is not part of this act nor are the alfereces called into action.

The ceremony lasts three days: first day is *pas kantelero*, 'to make candles,' when the candles are cleaned, and the old mayordomos eat a "common meal" *(komun we?el)*; second day is *wišperes*, when the oath is taken; final day is *sk'ahk'alel*, when the new mayordomos play the drums or flute.

The first gathering, which took place the year I observed it in the house of the *kobraria* of Halal Me?-tik Santalusia, was cut short because the *kobraria* did not have a porch, and it had begun raining. By local standards, a house without a porch is considered inadequate, and is called 'cow house' *(wakaš na?)* since the owner cannot accommodate guests on such occasions. The group therefore lingered longer in the house of the *kobraria* of Sakramentu.

The speech of the *nakawane* to the "elder new mayordomos" *(mamal ?ač' martomaetik)* (App. 2,

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS Replication of behavior in both civil and religious inauguration is also seen in the house ceremonies. Prior to setting out to the townhall or to the church, the new officials acquire a sense of the sacred obligations they are about to undertake from the words of the *nakawanehetik*.

The major behavioral schema are established in the settings in which activities occur. In each setting, the actors assert status in a social arrangement by their position in a physical arrangement: seating order clockwise from the door indicates rank order in all settings. The same act has a different significance in each setting. For example, drinking in the townhall differs from drinking in the house because it ties together different sets of actors.[10] As the actors move from one setting to the next, they are accompanied by some of the members linking them to the prior setting, as when the *nakawanehetik* accompany the president to the townhall.

The significance of setting in allocating roles is evident in the Tzeltal terms for categories of officials: religious officials are called "officials in the church" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)* and civil officials are called "officials in the townhall" *(?a?teletik te ta č'ulna)*. If my guess concerning the derivation of the term *nakawane* from house officials is correct (note 6), then this category derives its name from the locus in which authority is recognized.

The analysis of behavior, or roles in action, corroborates some of the understandings gained from eliciting the structure, but requires some modification. The segmentary character of the hierarchy is evidenced in the domain, action, and the timing of action. However, qualifications of the elicited model must be made on the basis of the behavioral data. First, the asymmetry of the links between civil and religious officials in the church setting as compared with the townhall setting requires a qualification of the meaning of the integration for the two wings.

[10] This adds a further caveat to the "behaviorist fallacies" pointed out by Lewin (1951, p. 79) when the psychological setting is ignored in the description of the physical dimension of an act.

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Third, there was opposition on the score that the president had never passed in any other public office. The only incident revealing the discontent was the firing of eight shots at (or above) the president's brother following the house festival on the eve of the inauguration.

The principales, who "formerly were the ones who ruled," no longer have a part in the power struggle

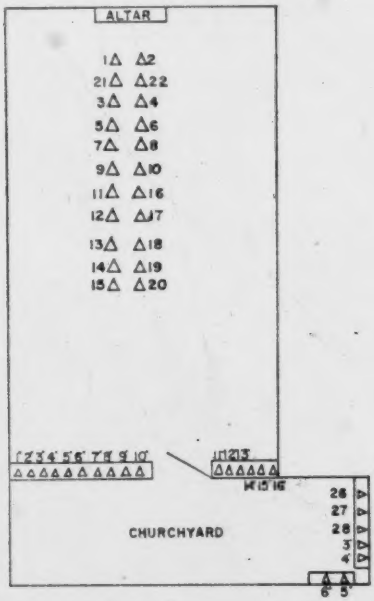

CHART 11 — NEW OFFICIALS INSIDE CHURCH, NEW YEAR'S DAY

OFFICIALS:
1'-16' Mayordomos

Remaining numbers refer to officials listed in Charts 7-9.

which centers on party membership and economic competition. Their ceremonial role in rituals is preserved as a link with the past as well as a sign of continuity between old and new officials.

In the inauguration of the religious officials, divergence in the elicited and the observed event (App. 2, column 4) occurred first of all in the shift of locale for the common meal from the churchyard to the house of the *?ali?bal* instead of in the churchyard (App. 2, Q. 19). This was a clue to the power struggle going on in the church. When I questioned my informant about the disparity, he told me the following story:

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9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Three years before [in 1961] my father was the *tatik* of Sacramento. One day he and the other mayordomos were drinking at the door of the church. The priest came out and demanded that they stop because this was the house of God. The *tatik* replied that it was the custom of the pueblo, and he and the other men refused to leave. The priest went back into the church and returned with a gun in his hand. The mayordomos seized wood which they had gathered in the yard of the church. They threatened the priest with this and he went back into the church. He announced that he would not give Mass, or perform wedding or baptismal ceremonies. We did not mind if he did not give the Mass or would not give weddings, but the people were frightened if he would not give baptism. The mayordomos had a meeting and they agreed to give up drinking in the church if the priest would continue to give baptism, but they

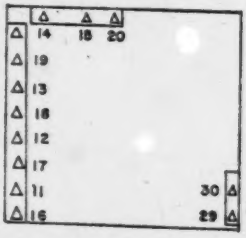

CHART 12 — KITCHEN OF POLICE, AFTER CHURCH (ELICITED)

Numbers refer to role terms listed in Charts 7 and 10.

would no longer care for the pigs or bring wood for the priest without payment. We pay him 15 pesos for an ordinary Mass and 40 pesos for a sung Mass, so he should pay us for help. The priest was in agreement with the mayordomos.

My informant had not realized that the ban affected eating in the yard of the church, but it was implied because liquor is served before the meal "to prepare the stomach" *(ya ʔital skoip weʔeletik)* and after the meal "to wash down the food" *(yaʔlel weʔelil)*.

The statement on who defines what performances, and in what setting, provides an index to the locus of power. The priest is gaining more control over the building, maintenance, and developments around the church. The mayordomos give at least a half-day's labor to the priest's projects each Sunday. When they cannot work, they must pay the elder *kobraria* two pesos for a half-day's work missed, or 4 pesos for a full day. The proceeds are used to buy liquor, which the mayordomos drink. Thus the social control is ex-

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9 Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX I — CHANGE OF OFFICIALS IN THE TOWNHALL

	Question	Informant 1 General Description	Informant 2 Case: entry of first judge	Observation Case: January 1, 1965
*621 124 796	1. When do they change the officials?	On January 1, *?al ha?bil* (New Year)	First of January	I observed the preparations for the New Year change of office fiesta in the houses of the president and of the new first policeman on December 31, 1964, and January 1, 1965
	2. What do they do first on the fiesta of changing of officials?	They arrange the house of each official	The wife of the first judge puts the bean tortillas on the fire	
[252]	3. When do they do this?	In the afternoon of December 31	In the morning of the last day of December	The women spend most of the morning and afternoon making the bean tortillas
[353]	4. How do they arrange the house?	They get juniper boughs and needles and put them in the house		Around 8 P.M. the visitors arrive. The house is decorated with pine needles on the floor and in the yard, and there are branches of juniper nailed to the posts of the house entry, just as it is done at the entry to the townhall. I was not present at the gathering
[602]	5. Who helps her?		All her relatives (*kermanotak*) with neighbors (see Chart 1)	
	6. What do they do in the afternoon?		The women eat	
*621 124 796 514	7. What time do the guests gather in the house of the new officials?	On December 31 at 7 P.M.		
	8. What do they bring?	They arrive with wood and pitchpine	They bring wood or pitchpine	
[272] [282]	9. What do the visitors do?	They drink coffee with bread and bean tortillas	They say greetings. They drink coffee and eat bean tortillas	
[283]	10. What do they do when they finish the coffee?	They drink liquor	They take out liquor, and the judge recites the benediction	
*621 124 796 [693]	11. Who is present in the house of the new official?		*stalel nahwame*, his leading house official, Baltol Kantiron. The new judge, Santos Kantiron, *balaial*, assistants to pass gruel, sons of the new officials *?ak n?etik* wood bringers (see Chart 2)	
[524]	12. What do they do first on New Year's day?	The fourth regidor calls everyone together	The fourth regidor raises all the new officials	

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
462 124 796 624	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
462 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alannantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[273]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor (*pat?ot'an yič smahtanil*) with the first *nakawane*. [redacted] godchild *ahijado thalal kupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, the *spat lok'yo?t'an*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
[576]				
462 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yo?t'an* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *pat?ot'an*	First judge speaks with *me?il k'op* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[533] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yo?t'anik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

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CHANGE OF OFFICIALS

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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother *(Tios sok Halal me?tik)*. Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kah-waltik*) God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawanechetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawane* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mas* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mas* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change"

(*K'a s?abbal yok helol*). They said *pat?ot'an* before the *nakawane*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kus' ibale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me?il k'op, kus' ibale* with her.

At 11:15 *balnialetik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawane* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il tatil* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

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Tzo?ontahal

APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124 796 693 576 [788]				judge got up and stood before the second judge and did the *spalanbe soltak tuyipal č'in mahtanil* (account to company for the little gift. He then went to the first *nakawane* with the *sak'inal* (good day greeting). Then all the assembled company stood up and turn to wall and gave the benediction to the gift of the ancestors
	21. Why do they stand and turn to the wall?	Not asked—preceded observation	Not asked	So that the devil does not enter
*62 124 796 [273] [693]	22. What do they do after they drink coffee?	They drink liquor seated, resting their heart, in the entry of the house of the president	Drink liquor to await the hour they go to the cabildo	Two beers and 2 liters liquor were laid to rest. At 11:55 women came in to get liters of liquor. Put it under a kerchief and took it out to women in kitchen. Judges and regidores put on red kerchiefs. At 12 noon two judges got up and said goodbye, first to the *balnial* then the first judge went to the *nakawane* while the second judge and two regidores followed behind him. Then together the four said goodbye to the *nakawane* and to the *mc?il k'op*. Firecrackers were set off to advise police that the group was setting out on their way to the town hall. Police were to meet them at the townhall and had to be advised so that they would arrive at the same time. Two past regidores came to the *mc?il k'op* and said goodbye. The group set out together
[202] [625]				
	[23. Omitted.]			
*62 124 788 796 [693]	24. How do they enter the townhall?	They enter two by two. They kneel and cross themselves at the door of the cabildo	They enter two by two, kneel at the door. They rise, enter, arrive, kneel before the *tatik* table	Pair by pair they entered and touched cross of banner with their rosaries. First the president and síndico then first and second judges followed by judges from Mádronal, La Grandeza, San Vicente, and Cruz Quemada
	25. Why do they cross themselves?	Because they show respect to the holy cross		

*62 124 796 [778]	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials (*mamal k'a hu?ile-tik*) and the two principales (*mamal krinsipaletik*) and the four alfereces (*alperesil*). (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
*62 124 796 64 [782]	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the martomoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
	31. Who passes the staffs (*sbaratik me?tiktatik*)?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
• [273]				
*62 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, –66, –67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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#621 124 796

44. Where do the old officials go? — To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge

45. What do they do there? — They go to say goodbye

46. What do their hearts say? — Their hearts are very sad

47. Why do they kiss all the people present? — Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office

#621 124 794 796

48. Who is in the church? — The mayordomos are in the church — The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church

49. What are the mayordomos doing? — They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church

50. Why are they seated in the church? — In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya ?il)* in the townhall

#621 124 796

51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church? — The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall — Leave church and pass to the townhall — The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall

52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the cabildo? — "Where are you, *Mamal principal?*" — First judge gives *patbeyo?Yan* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart — [I was not present for these sessions]

[539] [693]

53. What does the principal reply? — "Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ?al' presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(mamal ?al' alkaletik)*"

#621 124

54. What do they do then? — They sit a little each in his own chair — They sit down. They begin to drink liquor

273 796 693

55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little? — The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago

56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift? — For the new officials

57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives? — They put it in the middle *(ta yoil komun)*

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
621 124 796 539 693 273	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spahoyo?tan*		
	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinsipal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *two mamal alkal, mamal presirente, mamal antiku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehiral skunebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors (*me?tiktatik*) for the *mamal krinsipaletik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permision, *mamal krinsipal, mamal ?alkoletik*, I look and give the gift"		
621 124 796 693 273	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
	66. Third?	Síndico		
	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

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*62 124 796 213 81.	What do they do after the commissioner of the colonia measures the drink?	The first police of Alanantik gets up and speaks a little with the first police of Ah-k'olnantik
82.	What does he say?	He gives the *spatbe yo?t'an*
83.	What time do they finish the celebration of New Year's?	12 o'clock noon
84.	What does he say after the *spatbe yo?t'an*?	He asks if they can endure a little more
85.	What do the police think?	They ask whether they can endure a little more without getting drunk. "What happens if we get drunk? We won't know if there is an errand for the *mamal ?alkalnik* and we might not be able to help. Better to rest the heart a little. If there is an errand we can help a little and so it is. If there is no errand, let us stay till noon"
86.	What do they do then?	They finish a little more. Then after a little all go out because it is midday. Each one goes to his house to rest the heart and until tomorrow

Drinking continued until sundown

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Appendix 2—Change of Officials in the Holy House

Question	Informant 3	Observation
1. What is the first day of the fiesta called?	*Pas Kantelero*, 'Making the candles'	
2. What do the mayordomos do first on Paswamal of the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	They scrape the candles	At 9 A.M. the mayordomos were gathered at the door of the church, scraping the candles. The wax was carefully gathered. It will be melted down to make more candles, but not for ceremonial purposes.
3. What else do they do in the morning of Paswamal?	Two mayordomos beat the drum and one blows the flute	Music was provided by two mayordomos beating drum and one blowing flute
4. Where do they scrape the candles?	Inside the church	In the courtyard of the church
5. Where do they blow the flute?	At the door of the church	On the benches near the door of the church
6. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	They sweep out the church	They sweep the church
7. What else is done on the morning of Paswamal?	Nothing. Formerly they bought juniper needles to put on the floor inside the church but now they do not	
8. Why don't they bring pine needles now?	Because now the floor of the church is well finished with pure cement	
9. What do they do after they finish scraping the candles?	They count the money	The fiscal spent the morning sitting on the benches outside the church with the elder mayordomos watching the counting of money
10. What day do they collect the money?	On Sunday, eight days before the fiesta of San Pedro	
11. Who collects the money?	Two kobrarias	
12. How much do they collect from each mayordomo?	Two pesos each	
13. Why do they collect the money?	For the price of the candles	
14. Who counts the money to buy the candles?	Two kobrarias with the fiscal	
15. What do they do at noon?	They ring the bells. They all begin to drink liquor *(ya?alik)*	They ring the bells. Then they go to the house of the *?ali?bal*
16. What do they call the first drink at midday?	One measure to make the food go down *(sko?ip we?eletik)*	
17. What do they call the drink after the meal?	Water for the meal *(ya?lel we?elil)*	
18. How many liters of liquor do the mayordomos drink on Paswamal?	Two liters	

19.	Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
20.	Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
21.	What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam koz)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chilé	
22.	How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
23.	Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Bik'tal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
24.	What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
25.	What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wišperes	
26.	What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
27.	What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
28.	What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
29.	Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
30.	Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
31.	Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
32.	What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
33.	What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
34.	How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the *nåkawaneketik* and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
35.	How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
36.	What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
37.	What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

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49. Who is the woman speaker? — She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento? — Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters (*yermanotak*) do inside his house? — They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *me³ĕ'ukaiailetik*? — They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do? — He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash? — First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee? — They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash? — They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then? — They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside? — *Me³ĕ'ukalail*

59. What do they do before they begin to drink? — The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *spathe yo³tan* He rises to ask permission before the *me³ĕ'ukalailetik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then? — God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' (*me³tiktatik*). God speaks, *tat nakawanchenk* and *balnialetik*. Give us permision to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *me³tiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *me³ch tatel*

61. What do they do then? — The *mayordomos*, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *me³ĕ'ukalail* say? — God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say? — He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction? — In God's name. God father, name of God. God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

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APPENDIX 3—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
[213]	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanchetik*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawanej* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palonbetik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[538]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *kuromentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nikgal* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of Sacramento

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794	81. What do they do?		They drink
796 124	82. What time do they leave his house?		Prayer time *(oración)*
[293]	83. Where do they go?		To their house
	84. What do they do first on *ik'ahk'alel*?		Go to hear Mass
	85. Who is in the church to hear Mass?		All the new mayordomos, the women, the prayer leaders
	86. What time is the Mass?		At 7 o'clock
	87. What do they do when they come out of Mass?		Go to the house of the kobraria of Sacramento
	88. How many go?		Thirteen
	89. What do the rest do?		Three juniors *(mi'anil)* remain play drum at door of church
	90. What do they do at the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?		Count the money of the Virgin and San Pedro Martyr
[426]	91. What do they do with the money?		They want to lend it in order to get interest because they want to increase it *(ya ik'an smahanik yu'un ya'he sol ya'un ik'an solin hilel)*
	92. How much money is there for the virgin?		Two hundred twenty-eight pesos
[624]	93. Who counts it?	Fiscal with two kobraria	The town treasurer, the síndico and secretary assisted the fiscal in the accounting of funds. The principales sat on the bench to observe proceedings
	94. How much money is there for San Pedro?	Forty pesos	
[624] [537]	95. What do they do after they count the money?	Begins the *pat'at'an* with the kobraria of Sacramento	The principales recite the *pat'o'tan* with the kobraria of Sacramento
[293]	96. What do they do afterward?	They drink liquor	They drink liquor